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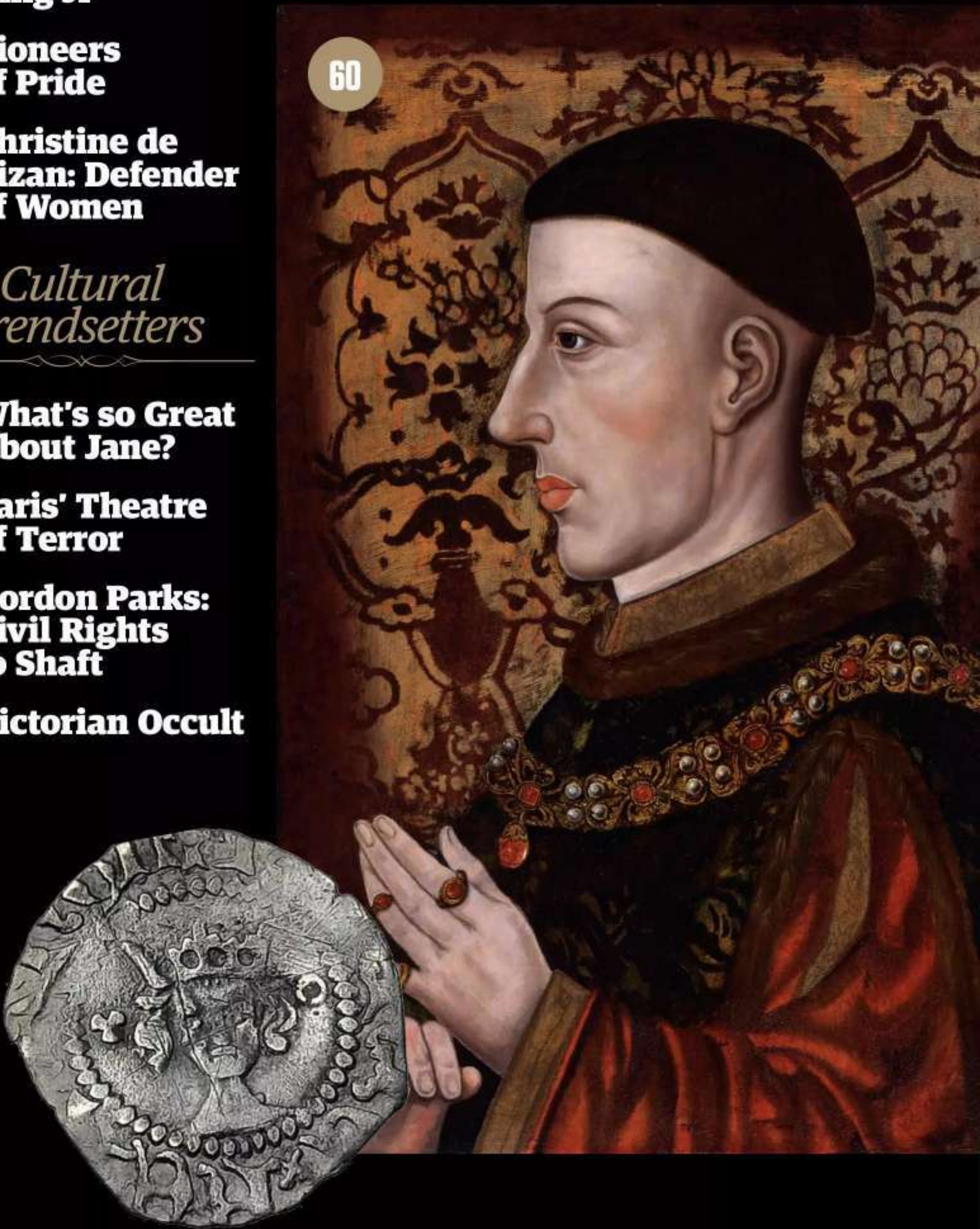

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Vicious Ancient World

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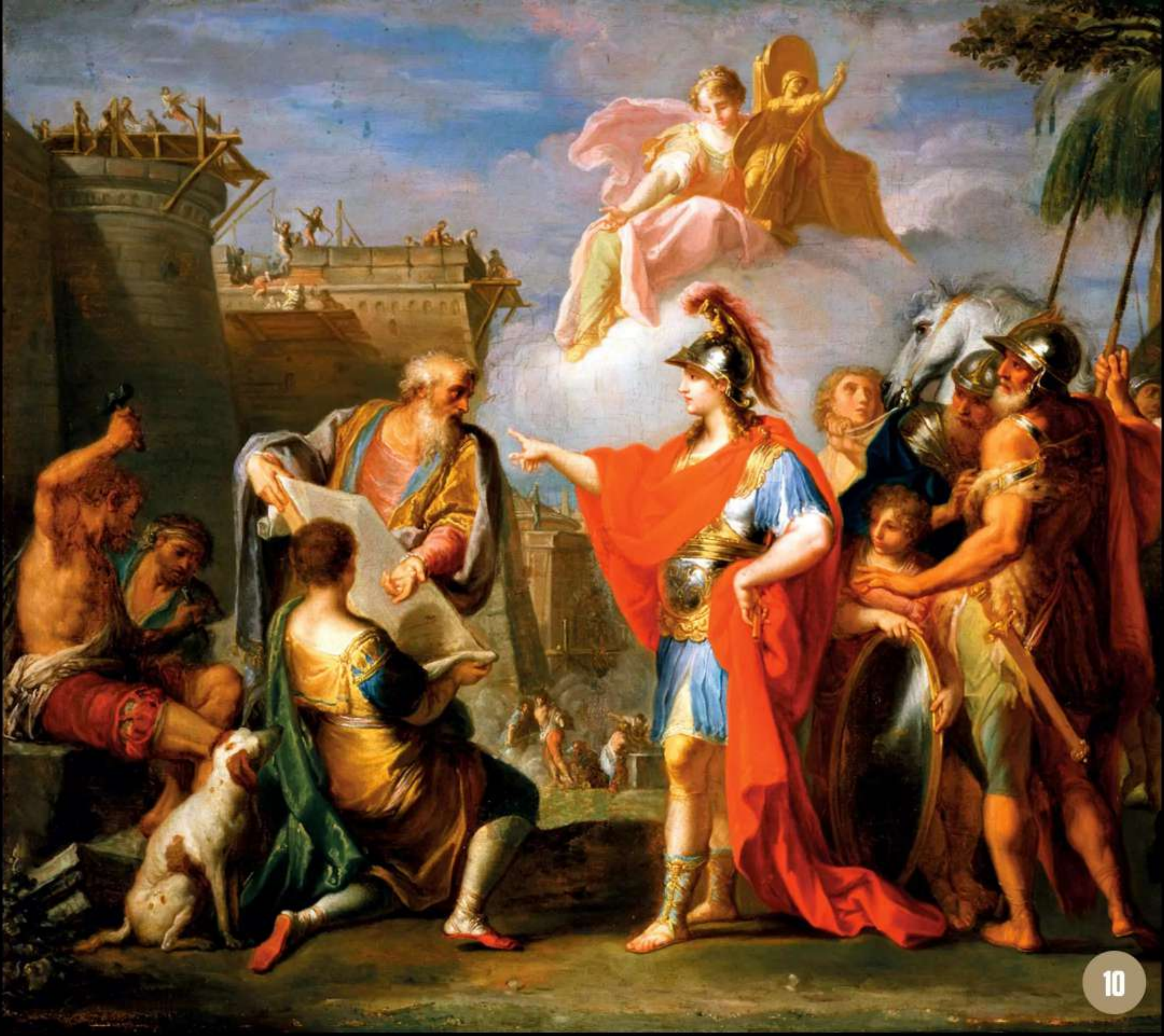
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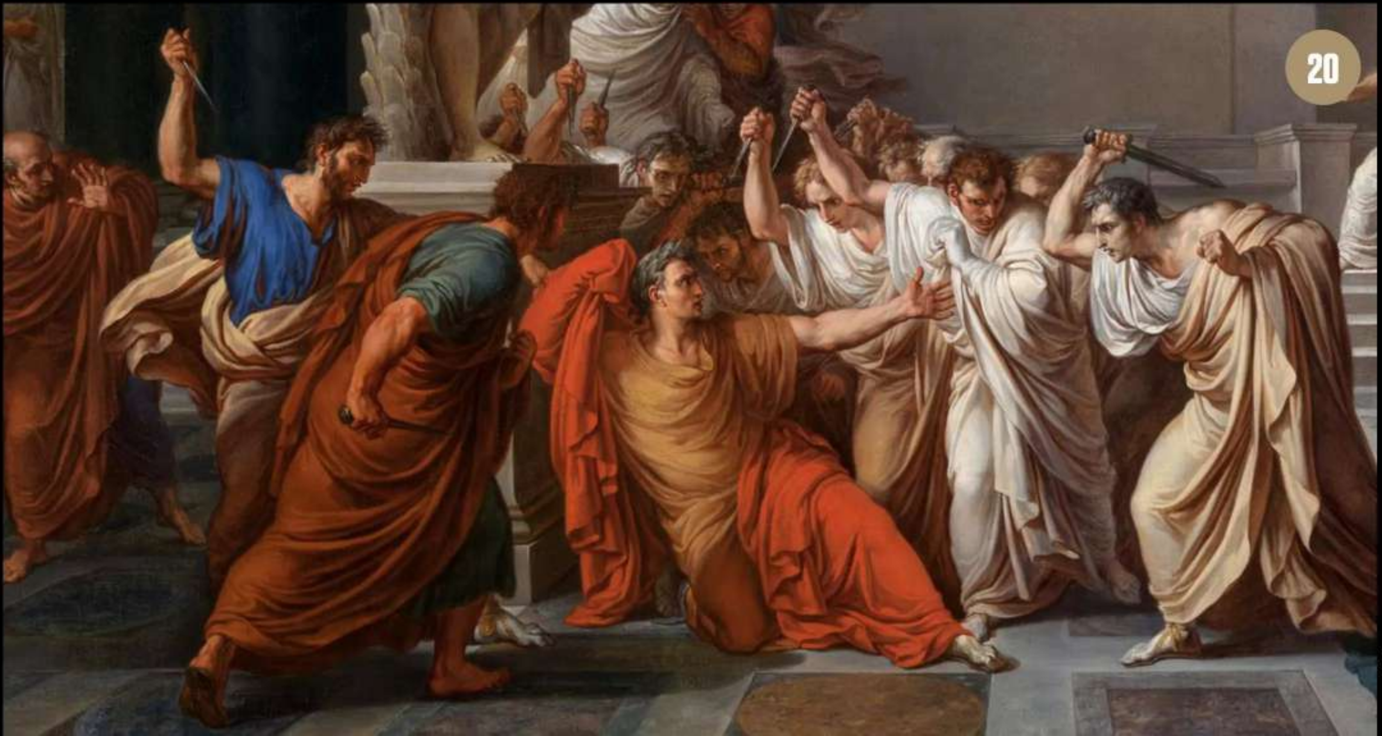
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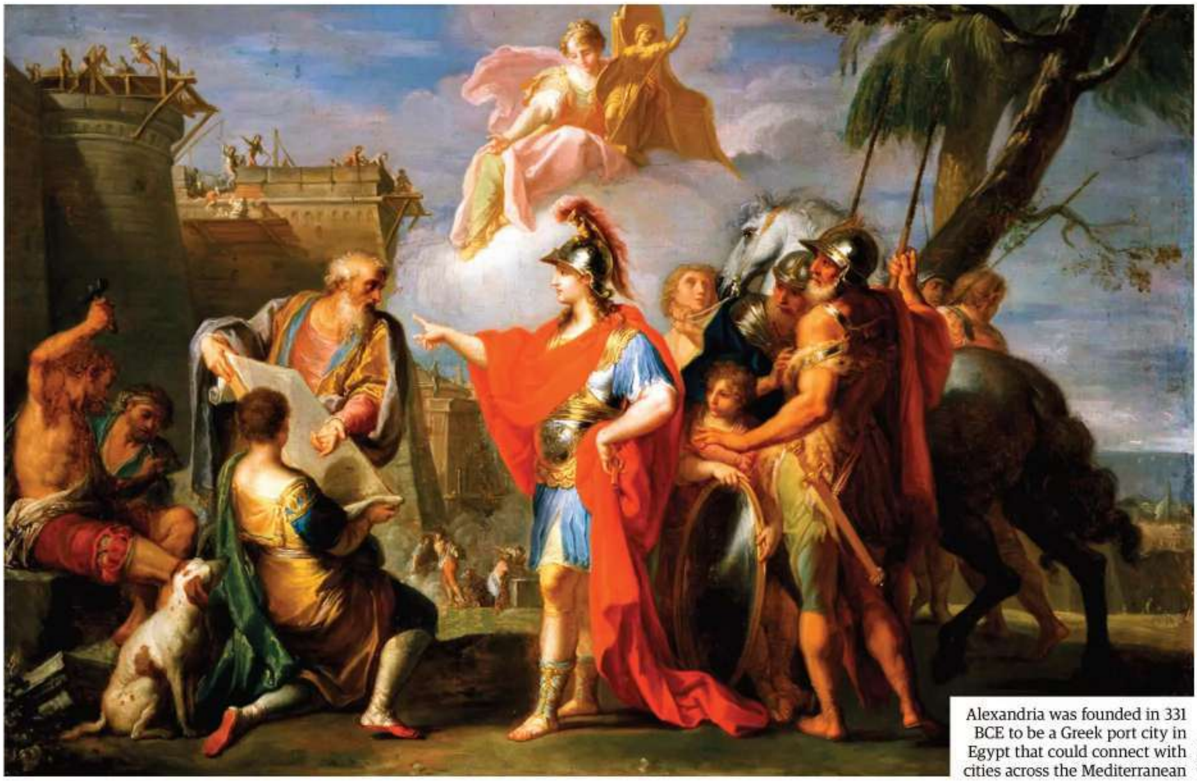
MACEDONIA'S MADMAN

ALEXANDER

Did a twisted lust for power and bloodshed drive his world conquest?

Written by Paul Cartledge with additional elements from Callum McKelvie

Illustration by: Jean-Michel Girard/The Art Agency



Alexandria was founded in 331 BCE to be a Greek port city in Egypt that could connect with cities across the Mediterranean © Alamy

EXPERT BIO

PAUL CARTLEDGE

Professor Paul Cartledge is AG Leventis Professor of Greek Culture at Cambridge University and a Fellow of Clare College. He has written several books over the last 30 years covering a wide range of ancient Greek subjects, including Alexander the Great, Sparta, the helots and the origins of democracy.

Some men are born great, some achieve greatness, some have greatness thrust upon them. So wrote the Bard, our very own William Shakespeare, in *Twelfth Night*. He could have been thinking of Alexander of Macedon, son and successor of King Philip II, whom he did indeed explicitly mention in *Hamlet*. In a reign of 13 years (336-323 BCE) Alexander shot across the Greek and Middle Eastern firmament like a meteor, transforming whatever he - often brutally - touched and ensuring the ancient world and so eventually our world could never be the same again.

There have been many Alexanders, as many as there have been observers, enemies, admirers, worshippers or serious students of the man, and hero, and god. It might be argued that we all create the Alexander of our dreams, or nightmares. There are two main reasons for this multiplicity and plasticity of reception and response with regards to the action and temperament of Alexander.

First, and more poetically, Alexander's achievements - what the Romans (who admired and envied him equally) would have called his res gestae - were simply staggering: an eminently suitable case for treatment on the silver screen, as was most recently and not too happily done by the otherwise great filmmaker and screenwriter Oliver Stone. Second, and (literally) prosaically, the surviving original narrative accounts of Alexander's life and campaigns are extremely partisan, skewed either very pro or very con.

The result is a paradox. Alexander himself went to unprecedented lengths to try to ensure that his achievements were properly received and appreciated in his own day - for example, he even appointed an official historian called Callisthenes, a relative of his former tutor Aristotle. Yet that particular relationship ended very badly indeed, in Callisthenes' execution for high treason. And anyway neither his nor any contemporary account of Alexander's reign and (more or less the same thing) military campaigns has survived as such.

> "Until the internet age, Alexander the Great was probably the most famous human being who ever lived"

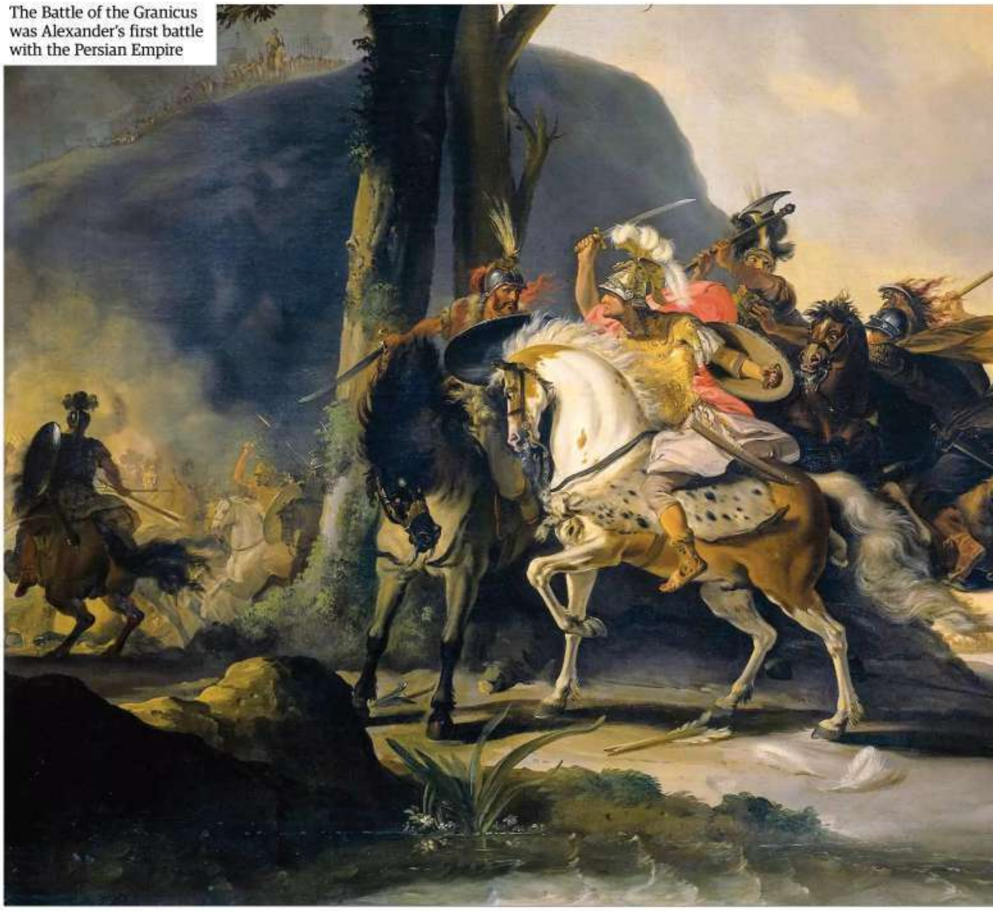
There are a few contemporary written documents, and there is much contemporary archaeology (buildings, sculpture, coins, graves and so on), but no diaries, no autobiography, and no objective, sober, factual contemporary or even near-contemporary account. Instead we must rely, cautiously, on such sources as the much later biographer Plutarch (c.100 CE), whose robust *Life* is full of charm and anecdote and some insight. Or the even later historian-philosopher Arrian, a former student of the Stoic Epictetus and one

▶

who rose to high office in what by his day was the mighty Roman Empire – the empire that had by then long since absorbed the Greek-Oriental empire so fleetingly created by Alexander.

Until the internet age, Alexander the Great was probably the most famous human being who ever lived. Both Julius Caesar and Augustus made pilgrimages to Alexander's tomb at the city in Egypt that he had founded and proudly had named after himself, Alexandria. His astounding career of conquest inspired not just Caesar and Augustus but also Mark Antony, Napoleon, Hitler and other would-be world conquerors from the West. From the East too, in India alone, Lodi kings, Bengali sultans, and Nizams of Hyderabad, were all named Sikander (Persian for Alexander). And, closer to Alexander's Macedonian home, a commanding succession of Ottoman Turkish rulers. Sultan Mehmet II had read Arrian's *The Campaigns Of Alexander* long before he captured Constantinople in 1453 at the age of 20 (the age coincidentally at which Alexander acceded to the Macedonian throne). Mehmet's grandson, Selim I, who conquered Egypt for the Ottoman Empire, claimed that "it has been revealed to me that I shall become the possessor of East and West, like Alexander the Great". Selim's son Suleiman the Magnificent actually declared himself "the second Alexander".

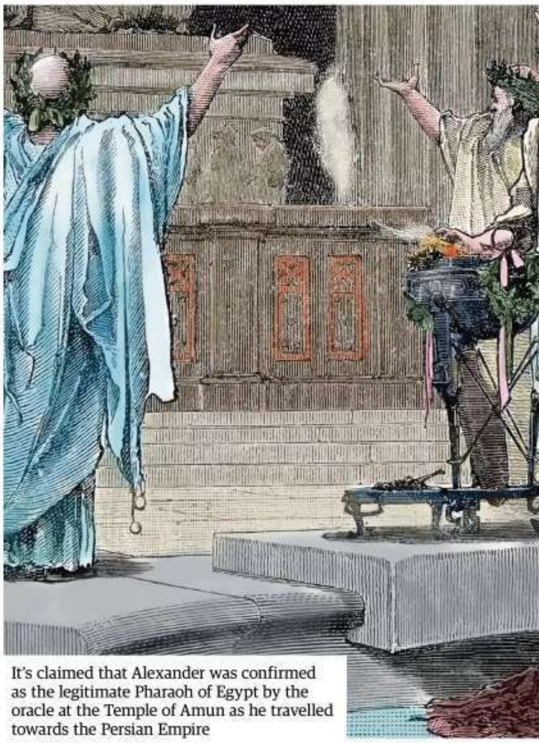
Few imperial careers, and none that lasted so few years, have had an impact as broad and deep or as long-lasting. The possible angles to approach it are endless. Here we shall concentrate on trying to demystify Alexander the Great (as he became known only after his death; to Greeks he is 'Megalexandros', 'Greatalexander', his greatness being so much part of him that it's now part of his very name). We shall be focusing on Alexander at the peak of his powers, that is, having already conquered Egypt (332 BCE), Great King Darius III of Persia himself (at Gaugamela in October 331 BCE), and Babylon (330 BCE). What we are especially interested in exploring is the degree to which he was already building a legend of himself through his assimilation into those oriental, non-Greek or Macedonian cultures. A secondary question is more delicate and personal, and therefore even more difficult to answer: was the romanticised image of Alexander something that he himself cultivated in order to mask his bloodthirsty tendencies?

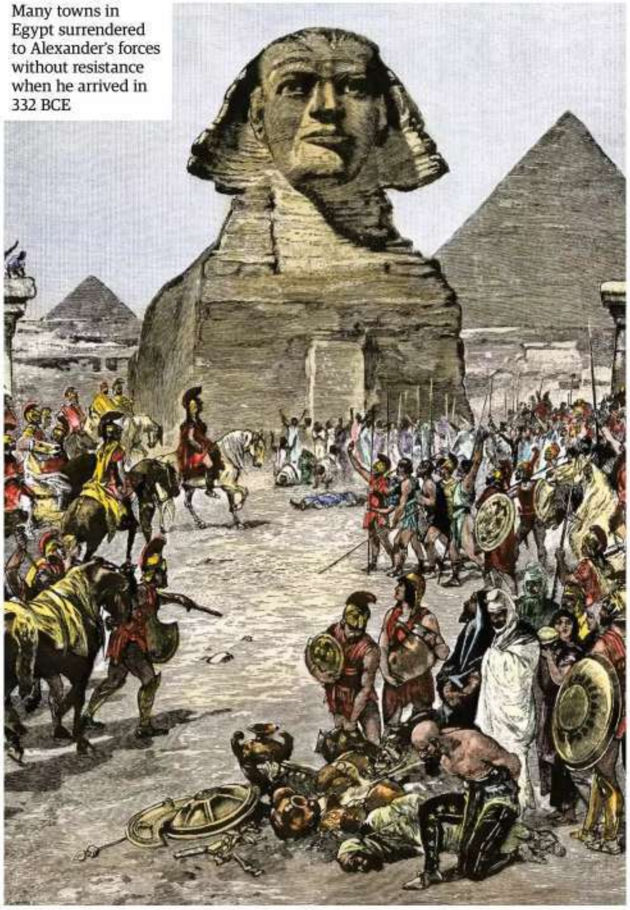

The Battle of the Granicus was Alexander's first battle with the Persian Empire

"It was through religion that he made his West-East transition, almost seamlessly"

So – Alexander's 'orientalism'. That word today has acquired an unpleasant overtone of Western cultural superiority coupled with imperial aggrandisement at the expense of Rudyard Kipling's "lesser breeds without the law". To understand Alexander's orientalism, one has to think away such negative associations and remember that the Greeks had been in contact with part of the (Middle) East for many centuries before he was born. Alexander famously loved Homer, especially Homer's epic poem the *Iliad* with its magnificent champion Achilles at its heart. Alexander seems to have taken Achilles as a role model and inspiration, carrying with him on campaign through Asia a specially annotated copy of the text prepared for him by Aristotle. The Trojan War was in a sense a war between West and East, but Homer's Trojans, not least Prince Hector, were every bit as heroic as the Greeks, and the poem is not riddled with anti-oriental cultural prejudice, far from it. The earliest texts of the Homeric epics had been written down in the 8th and 7th centuries BCE in the then brand new alphabetic script that the Greeks had borrowed and adapted from the oriental Phoenicians of modern Lebanon, and which they even called 'Phoenician letters'.

Greeks and orientals were in regular contact and interaction thereafter, especially commercially, and in their everyday transactions they came to know about each other's gods. Gods in the plural, since – with the sole exception of the


It's claimed that Alexander was confirmed as the legitimate Pharaoh of Egypt by the oracle at the Temple of Amun as he travelled towards the Persian Empire



Many towns in Egypt surrendered to Alexander's forces without resistance when he arrived in 332 BCE

3x © Alamy

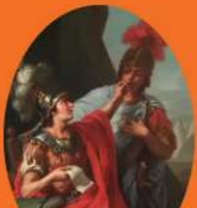
Jews of Palestine - all peoples of the eastern Mediterranean and Middle East in those days were polytheists. They were often also syncretists - that is, they borrowed from each other aspects of one or other god or goddess, so that Babylonian Ishtar became equated to Phoenician Astarte and she in turn became Greek Aphrodite. A written document on stone from Athens of the time of Alexander preserves a record of the official grant by the Athenians of a sanctified religious space in the port of Piraeus for Phoenician merchants to worship their 'Aphrodite'. So when Alexander, following in the footsteps of pioneer historian Herodotus a century earlier (he came from Halicarnassus, modern Bodrum), visited or rather besieged and conquered Phoenician Tyre, he was perfectly confident that the locals' chief god Melqart was the near-exact equivalent of his very own Greek Heracles.

That is crucially important, because Heracles (Roman Hercules) not only was a universal Greek object of worship, either as a hero or as a full-blown Olympian god, but was also a direct ancestor of Alexander - in the literal sense that he considered himself to be physically descended from him and so, by extension, from almighty Zeus, Heracles' own father. Religion ('the things of the gods and goddesses' in Greek) was always ▶

Love Life Of Alexander

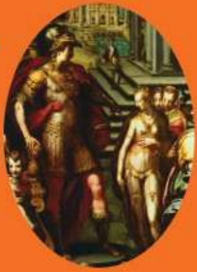
Supposedly scorning sensual pleasures, there were some people with whom he shared his softer side

HEPHAESTION



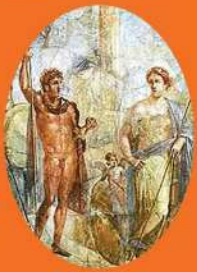
Alexander's closest friend, there is much to suggest that their relationship was significantly more intimate. Lucian writes of Hephaestion suggesting he had been in Alexander's tent all night, and once Diogenes of Sinope accused the latter of being "ruled by Hephaestion's thighs".

CAMPASPE



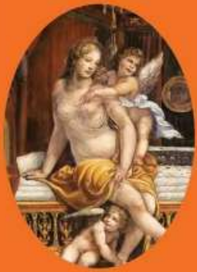
Thought to be a prominent citizen of Larissa in Thessaly, evidence suggests she could've been intimate with Alexander and was one of his concubines. Roman scholar Aellan hints Alexander lost his virginity to Campaspe. It's also said he presented her to the painter Apelles.

BARSINE



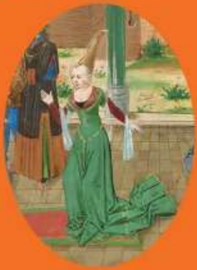
A Persian noblewoman, Plutarch believes she and Alexander were lovers, even giving him a son, Heracles. But he only appears 12 years after Alexander's death, becoming involved in succession battles before vanishing. Evidence suggests he wasn't Alexander's son and that this was a plot.

ROXANA

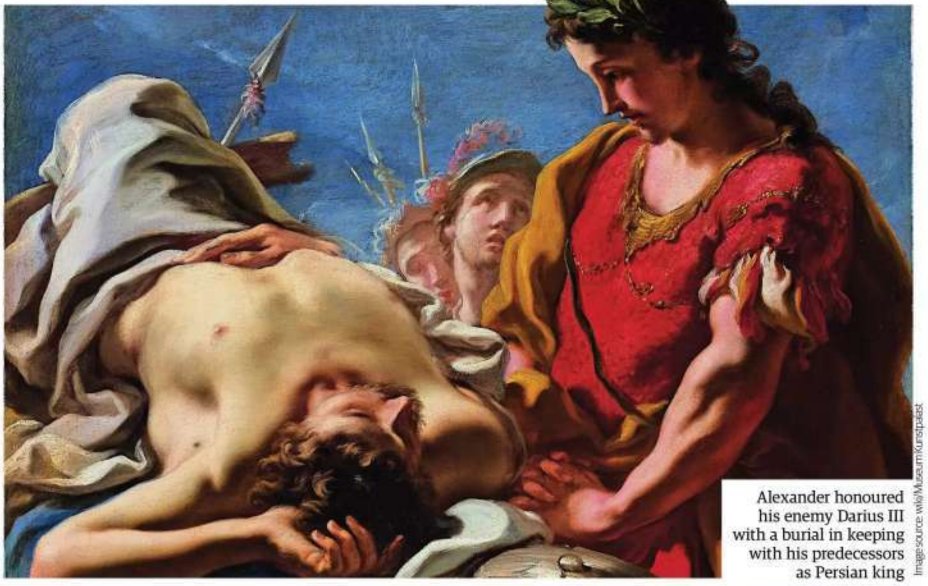


Contemporary historians write that Alexander was determined to make her his consort. When he died, she murdered his two other wives to keep her own position. She gave birth to Alexander IV, who may or may not have been his son. Both were assassinated under orders from Cassander.

BAGOAS

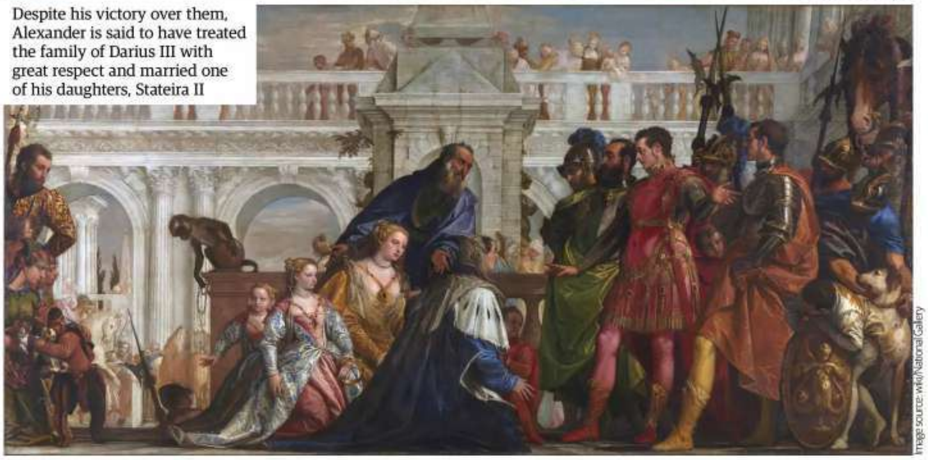


A Persian eunuch, one story states that after Bagoas won a dancing contest Alexander embraced him and kissed him passionately. Roman historian Quintus Curtius Rufus states Bagoas exploited his position and used Alexander's affection for him to settle grudges.



Alexander honoured his enemy Darius III with a burial in keeping with his predecessors as Persian king

Image source: wiki/Museum Kunstpalast



Despite his victory over them, Alexander is said to have treated the family of Darius III with great respect and married one of his daughters, Stateira II

Image source: wiki/National Gallery

for Alexander both a marker of his own self-development and self-image and also a key means of expressing and disseminating his kingly and imperial control. It was through religion that he made his West-East transition, almost seamlessly.

Dionysus, also known as Bacchus, was another Greek god for whom Macedonian Alexander expressed a particular attachment. A forerunner and ancestor of his, King Archelaus (reigned 413 to 400 BCE), had welcomed to his new court capital of Pella the great Athenian tragic playwright Euripides, who had composed there his rather terrifying *Bacchae* (or *Bacchantes*, female devotees of Dionysus). Alexander's own mother Olympias (a Molossian princess from Epirus, northwest Greece) was a kind of bacchante, so it was said, and she undoubtedly exercised a powerful hold over her son throughout his life. According to one Greek version of his myth, Dionysus was himself originally oriental. Even more relevantly for Alexander's outlook and ambitions, he like Heracles was supposed to have travelled as far east as the Greek geographical imagination could then stretch - to India.

India, what we today call the Punjab and Kashmir, was the scene of Alexander's final conquests in the mid-320s BCE before having to return to Iran and Mesopotamia (where he died, at Babylon, in June 323 BCE, probably of natural causes but possibly due to foul play). His path of Asiatic conquest had begun 11 years earlier in what is today northwest Turkey, where he passed over from Europe to Asia across the Hellespont/Dardanelles strait, in 334 BCE. At that point Alexander was at his most 'Western'. He had his own private and personal reasons, of course, but his official reason for wanting to conquer the Achaemenid Persian Empire (founded by Cyrus the Great in c.550 BCE) was to lead the allied Greeks in a war of liberation: to free forever from Persian control the Greek cities along the Anatolian coast and on the island of Cyprus, and in so doing also to exact revenge for the Persians' invasion of Greece under Great King Xerxes in 480-479 BCE.

"Alexander's self-belief was based on his unshakeable faith that he was destined to become King of Kings"

The Persians had eventually been defeated in 479 BCE, but not before they'd sacked Greek temples and shrines, most notoriously those atop the Athenians' Acropolis rock, including the predecessor of the Parthenon (which was constructed in part as a memorial of that Persian destruction, and Greek victory, especially at the naval battle of Salamis). Like the Greeks, the Persians were polytheists and had no ideological or theological issue with the Greeks' pantheon as such; the destructions just were intended to act as an effective way of making an imperial point. But due acknowledgement of the gods' power over humans was considered an essential part of what it meant to be Greek, and so it was in a spirit of panhellenism - all-Greekness - that Alexander stood forth as Hellenic champion in 334 BCE. He even went so far, but only very temporarily, as advocating and sanctioning the very un-oriental, and very Greek, political constitution of democracy as against Persian oriental despotism in the Greek cities of Asia, as well as their freedom from Persian imperial domination.

After winning his first two major battles against the massed, multi-ethnic forces of Persian emperor Darius III (Granicus River, 334 BCE, and Issus, 333 BCE) and defeating the emperor's Phoenician navy at Tyre in 332 BCE, Alexander felt bold enough to proclaim himself the legitimate ruler of the ex-Persian Empire and dismiss Darius as a mere usurper! That was, shall we say, just a touch premature - if entirely typical of Alexander's self-belief and confident propaganda, based ultimately on his unshakeable faith that he was destined to become 'King of Kings' (as Persian rulers officially styled themselves). From the Levant he moved westwards into north Africa, to Egypt, which the Persians had first conquered as long ago as 525 BCE but had lost to native revolt for some 60 years from 404 BCE and had only recently reconquered in 343/2 BCE. Alexander was welcomed in Egypt as a liberator, rather as the Muslim Arabs were to be a millennium or so later, and it was here that he first gave unambiguously clear signs of his extreme orientalism - of the distance he was preparing and prepared to put between traditional Macedonian Greek kingship and his own ultimate, reshaped and reconceived future as an oriental-style monarch and emperor.

Almost certainly he had himself crowned pharaoh in the old Egyptian capital of Memphis, thereby not only ingratiating himself with the Egyptian masses but also enfolding the old and still powerful Egyptian priesthood in the embrace of his new Egyptian monarchy. But the starkest and strangest development, possibly the most

The Myth Maker

Here are six legends and stories that surrounded Alexander, some of which he happily fostered

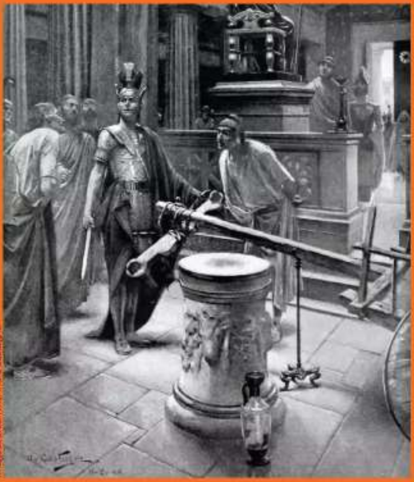


Image source: wiki/Andre Castaigne

GORDIAN KNOT

On his march through Anatolia, Alexander reached Gordium. There he was shown a cart lashed to a pole with an intricate knot that only the future king of Asia could untie. Alexander wrestled with the knot for several moments before proclaiming: "It makes no difference how they are loosed", drew his sword and sliced the knot in two.

SON OF ZEUS

Alexander may have truly believed that he was the son of Zeus. His mother Olympias claimed a bolt of lightning shot into her womb and his father had a dream in which he pressed a seal against her womb with a figure of a lion on it. Supposedly in later years Alexander visited the Oracle of Zeus-Ammon to seek confirmation.

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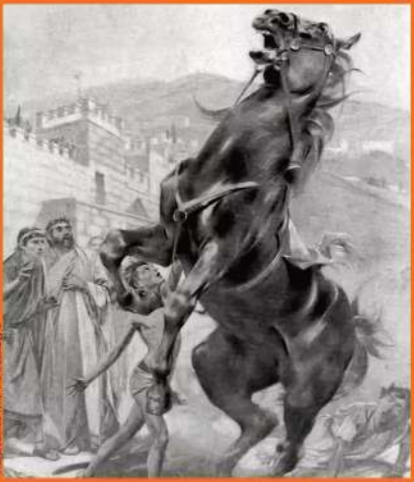

Image source: wiki/Andre Castaigne

THE TAMING OF BUCEPHALUS

Phillip II had been offered the horse Bucephalus, but was uninterested in it due to its wild nature. Alexander bet his father he could tame the horse, where others had failed. Realising its shadow was the cause of its distress, he turned it towards the sun. A prophecy claimed the rider of the horse would rule the world.

BURNING OF THE TEMPLE OF ARTEMIS

On the night of Alexander's birth the Temple of Artemis was torched by a man named Herostratus, seeking notoriety. Any mention of Herostratus's name was forbidden under pain of death. It was believed Artemis was present at the boy's birth and so neglected her temple.

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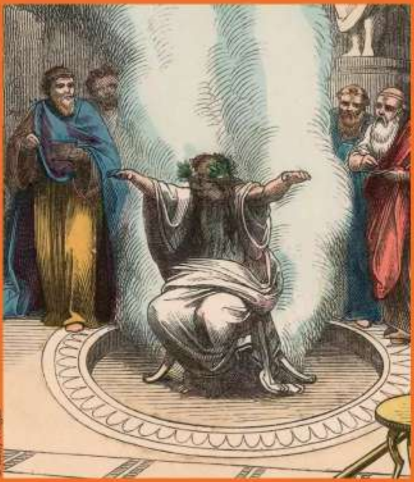

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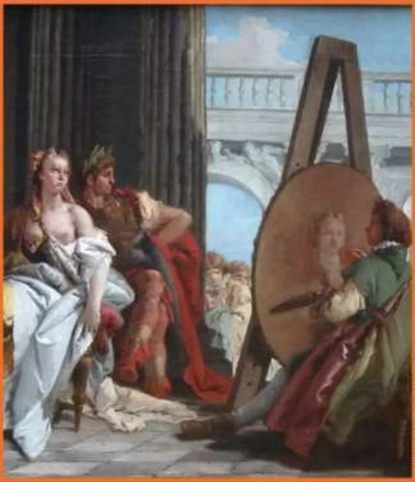
ORACLE AT DELPHI

In 336 BCE Alexander marched his men to the oracle, Pythia, at Delphi, wishing to hear confirmation he'd conquer the entire ancient world. Upon arrival, he was told she was unable to see him. Enraged, Alexander dragged Pythia by the hair until she screamed: "You are invincible!" He replied, "I have my answer."

PAINTINGS OF APELLES

A renowned painter in ancient Greece, Apelles painted Alexander several times, with one renowned version showing him holding a lightning bolt. One story tells that when painting Alexander's concubine Campaspe, Apelles fell in love and as a reward for the skill of the painter, Alexander gave her to him.



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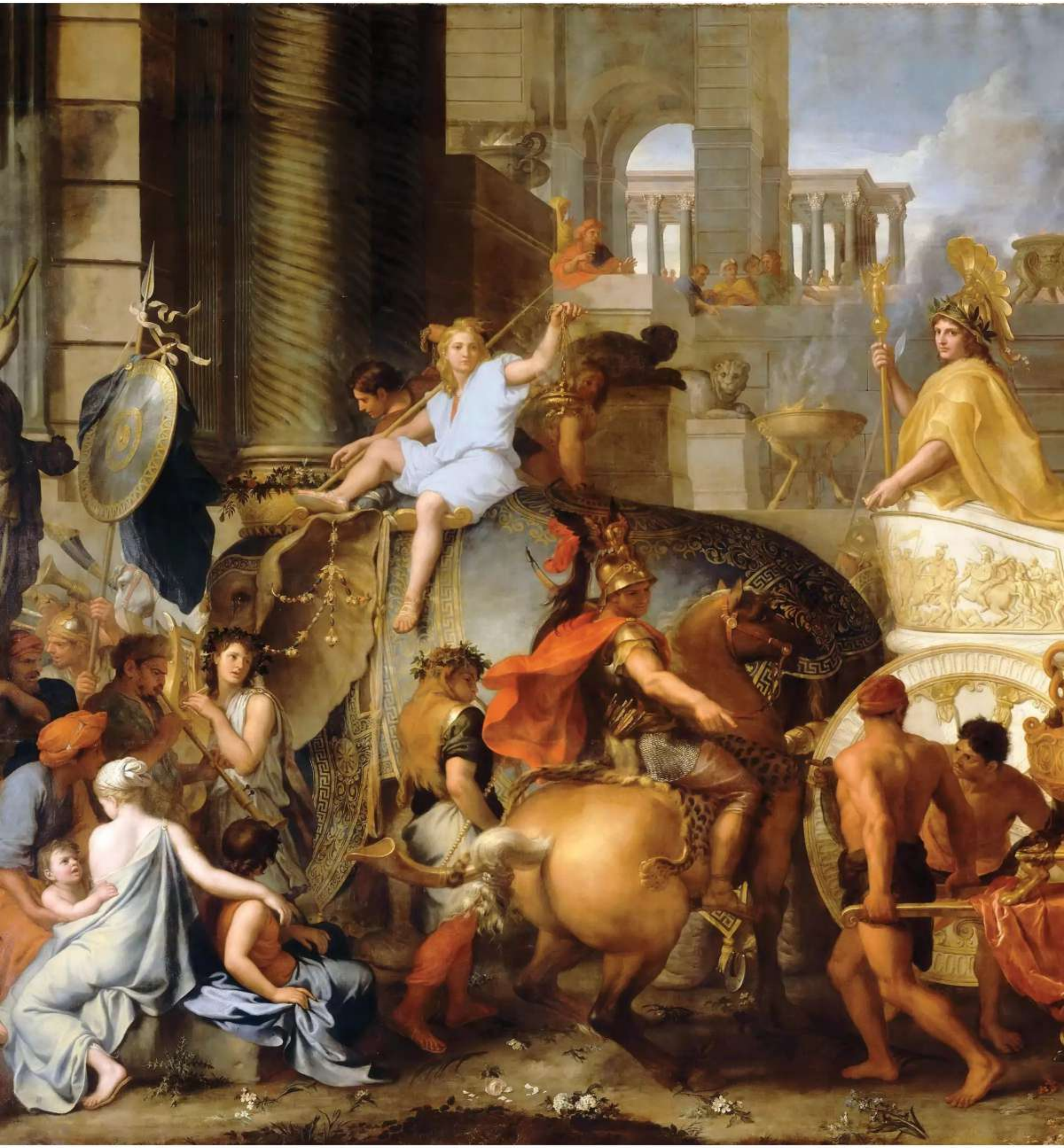
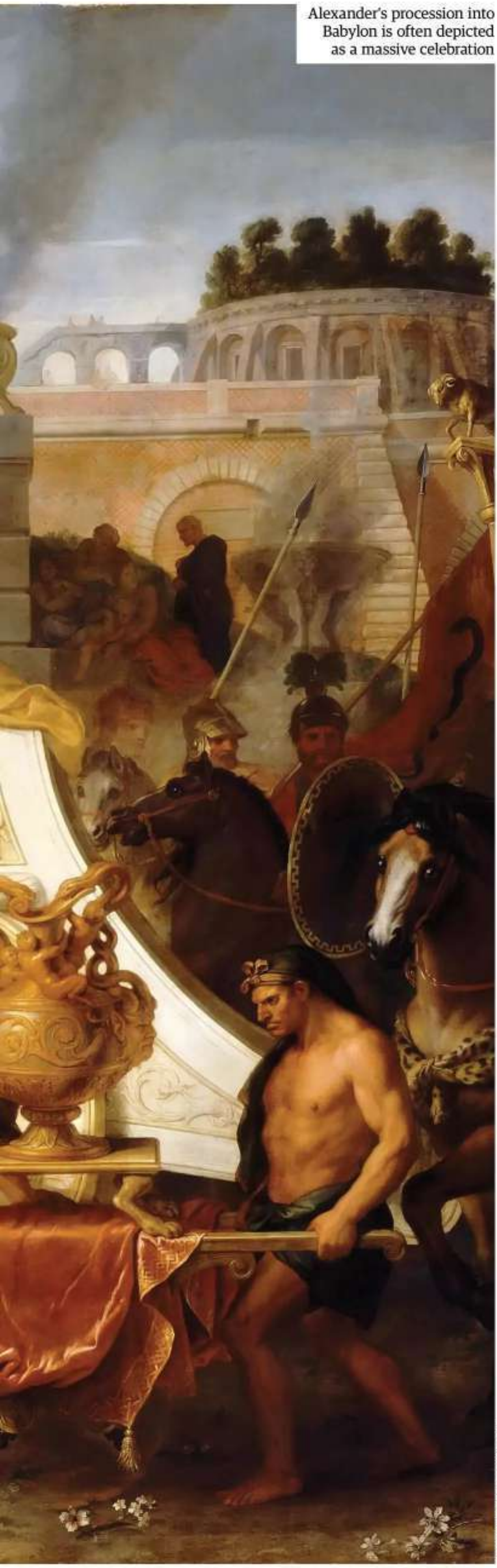




Alexander's procession into Babylon is often depicted as a massive celebration

Image source: wiki/Louvre Museum

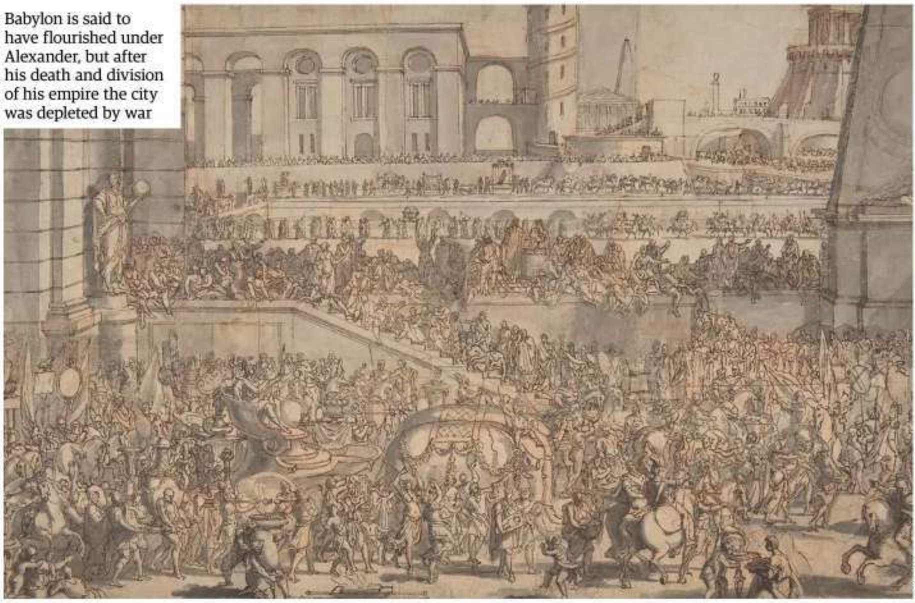
determinative single episode of all his reign, occurred not in the Nile valley but some 250km further east on the borders with Libya, at an oasis called Siwah. Here lay an oracular shrine devoted to the god whom the Greeks spelled Ammon, but who was to the Egyptians Amun - as in, for example, Tut-ankh-amun. The march through the desert was long and difficult, and Darius poised with a huge army in Asia was still very much unfinished business - so why on earth (or in heaven) did Alexander choose to undertake this perilous side-trip?

The sources of evidence alas fail us at this crucial juncture. That is, they do not fall silent, far from it, but they tell different, often conflicting or even contradictory stories. Alexander was by no means the first Greek to want to consult Ammon. Ammon had long been identified syncretistically with mighty Greek Zeus, who had an oracular shrine of his own on the Greek mainland, at Olympia. And the Spartan admiral Lysander, conqueror of the Athenians in 405/4 BCE, was the most notable of his Greek predecessor consultants, not coincidentally a man who had received worship in his lifetime as a god. Alexander may have asked Ammon about his birth and lineage, in other words about his past, but almost certainly he was just as interested if not more so in his future - and probably most of all in whether or not he would indeed rule 'the world' (after beating Darius of course). And in what capacity - as a man, or a god? All that he was ever prepared to divulge of what he was told was that he had learned what his heart desired.

From Siwah Alexander retraced his steps eastwards, and by the late autumn of 331 BCE he was in position to face up to Darius' overwhelmingly larger army in a giant, climactic battle fought at Gaugamela, not far from Erbil and Mosul in today's Iraqi Kurdistan. Alexander's stunning victory - due, as usual, to the strategic and logistical genius as well as executive proficiency and extreme personal bravery of the commander-in-chief - in effect opened up to him the rest of the Persian Empire, then extending as far east into central Asia as Afghanistan. First stop, naturally enough, was Iran - Media in the north, Persia in the south - the Achaemenid heartland, location of the mighty palaces and treasure-houses of Ecbatana, Pasargadae, Susa and Persepolis. Persian and especially Zoroastrian lore and myth hold that Alexander behaved rather like a Xerxes in reverse, deliberately destroying Persian shrines and sacred books. To the extent that that accusation has any basis, it was the last such occasion on which Alexander could be thought of as setting his face against oriental religion and culture, or despising or exploiting oriental non-Greeks as such. Rather the contrary.

"As in Egypt, so in Iran, Alexander simply assumed regal power as the legitimate successor to the previous native dynasty"

As in Egypt, so in Iran, Alexander simply assumed regal power as the legitimate successor to the previous native dynasty. He took to wearing a slightly modified version of Persian royal dress (he drew the line at wearing trousers or pantaloons, since Greeks considered them effeminate), accompanied by Persian regalia, symbols of royal power. More controversially, and in a more Greek than Persian manner, he struck up an intimate



Babylon is said to have flourished under Alexander, but after his death and division of his empire the city was depleted by war

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ALEXANDER THE (NOT SO) GREAT

Despite his title, Alexander was known for his wanton cruelty and savagery against his enemies

BURNING OF PERSEPOLIS

The Persian capital Persepolis housed numerous works of art and treasures. During the Persian invasion of Greece in 480 BCE, many Greek villages, cities and temples had been raised by the army of Xerxes I. It's often thought that the memory of these crimes led Alexander and his men to torch the city, though several accounts state he was drunk.

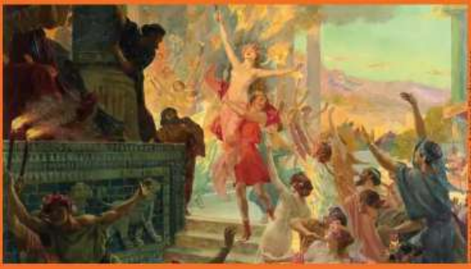


Image source: wiki/Georges Antoine Rochegrosse

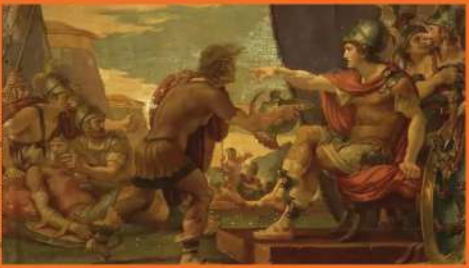


Image source: wiki/Hermitage Museum

CONSPIRACY OF THE PAGES

Alexander was served by many pages, one of whom, Hermolaus, killed a boar that was marked for Alexander. Publicly flogged, Hermolaus was humiliated. He, along with his lover and several others, conspired to kill the king while he slept. But Alexander spent the night drinking and failed to return. The plan revealed, the boys were stoned to death by the Macedonian court.

CLEITUS KILLED

During the Battle of Granicus, Alexander was attacked by Persian satraps and was saved by Cleitus. Alexander gave Cleitus the satrapy of Bactria and organised a banquet to celebrate. When both men were heavily intoxicated, an argument began in which Cleitus claimed Alexander's achievements were due to his father. Furious, Alexander grabbed a spear and murdered Cleitus.

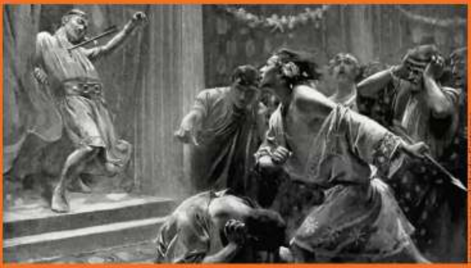
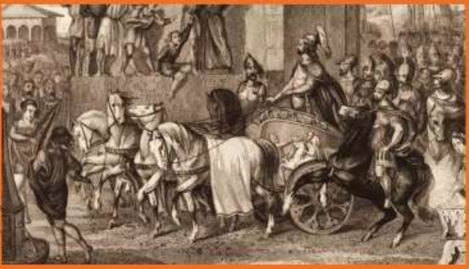


Image source: wiki/Andre Castaigne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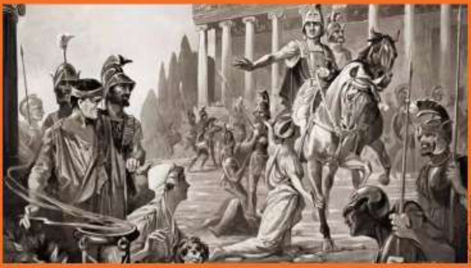
BATIS BRUTALISED

Batis was the commander of the city of Gaza during a fierce battle and following defeat was brought before Alexander. Ordered to submit, Batis remained silent. Enraged, Alexander dragged him through the city attached to his chariot. Alexander boasted that he'd replicated the acts of his ancestor Achilles against his enemy Hector – except Hector had already been dead.

DESTRUCTION OF THEBES

In 335 BCE, in response to the city revolting, Alexander marched into Thebes. After a fierce battle, he wanted to send a message to the other Greek states to ensure that they would remain loyal to him. Rounding up the 30,000 Thebans who'd survived the battle he had them all sold into slavery then burnt the city to the ground.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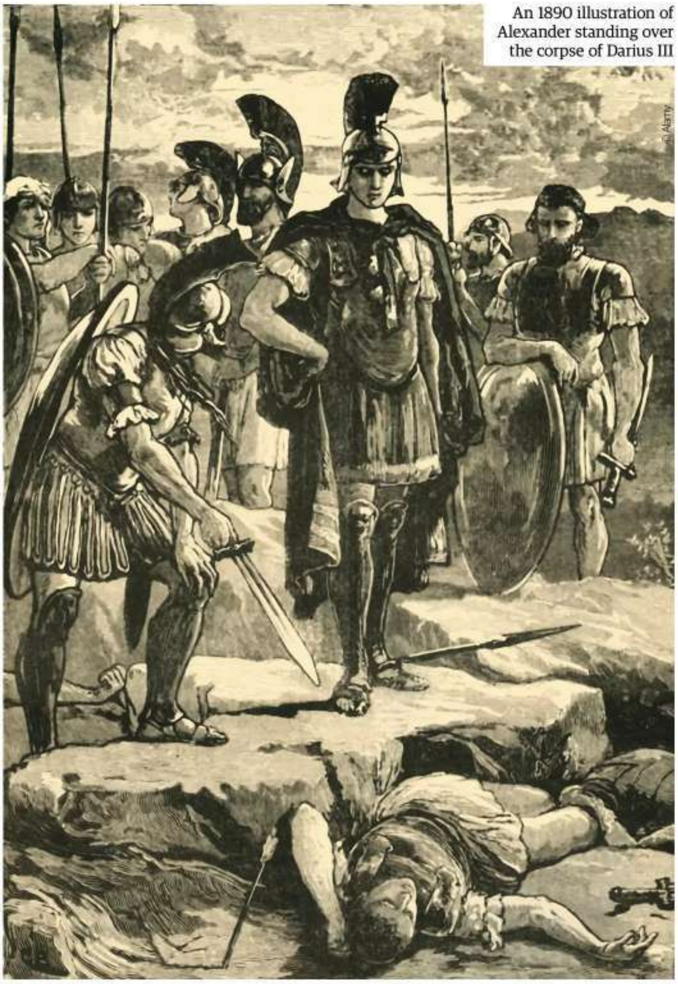
relationship with a Persian eunuch; it had been a little more obviously acceptable to Persian manners when he had earlier slept with and had a son with a high-ranking Persian woman called Barsine, a son whom they named Heracles.

But in the end it was not Persia that seems to have most attracted Alexander as the principal seat of his future power, but the ancient city of Babylon in what is now southern Iraq. After the Siwah visitation the next most significant event bearing on Alexander's self-conception as an oriental king was his relationship with the Persian viceroy Mazaeus. A viceroy who possibly by pre-arrangement with Alexander, possibly not, betrayed his master Darius III at Gaugamela to be most handsomely rewarded by Alexander with the satrapy (provincial governorship) of Babylonia and its most splendid court at Babylon.

Mazaeus, though Persian, went 'native', taking a Babylonian wife and giving their children names based on that of the Babylonians' chief god Bel-Marduk. In so doing, he may even have inspired Alexander, who went on to take three Iranian wives simultaneously (very un-Hellenic but not entirely un-Macedonian Greek) and to encourage or rather force his elite companions to do likewise, marrying them according to Persian not Greek rites. It is an intriguing thought that the so-called Satrap's or Alexander Sarcophagus from Sidon, now in the Istanbul Museum, may have originally contained the corpse of Mazaeus, since on its exterior is carved in stone relief one of the finest near-contemporary representations of Alexander himself. And it was of course at Babylon, aptly enough though not according to plan, that Alexander was to die and initially be embalmed and buried in 323 BCE.

> "Some historians think he was uniquely and unnecessarily motivated by bloodlust"

Alexander's untimely death, without any provision having been made for a smooth succession (if such were indeed possible), opened the floodgates for two generations of warfare among his marshals, generals and lieutenants for their slice of his hypertrophied empire. In 321 BCE one of the contenders who was to profit the most, Alexander's boyhood friend and self-serving memoirist Ptolemy, managed to hijack Alexander's corpse near Damascus. He had it transferred at first to Memphis and thence to his new capital city that Alexander had had time only to found in principle – Alexandria, capital of the Ptolemaic kingdom from 305 BCE until the death of its last queen, Cleopatra, in 30 BCE. This is the appropriate moment to reopen one of the most sensitive of all the many sensitive questions that


An 1890 illustration of Alexander standing over the corpse of Darius III

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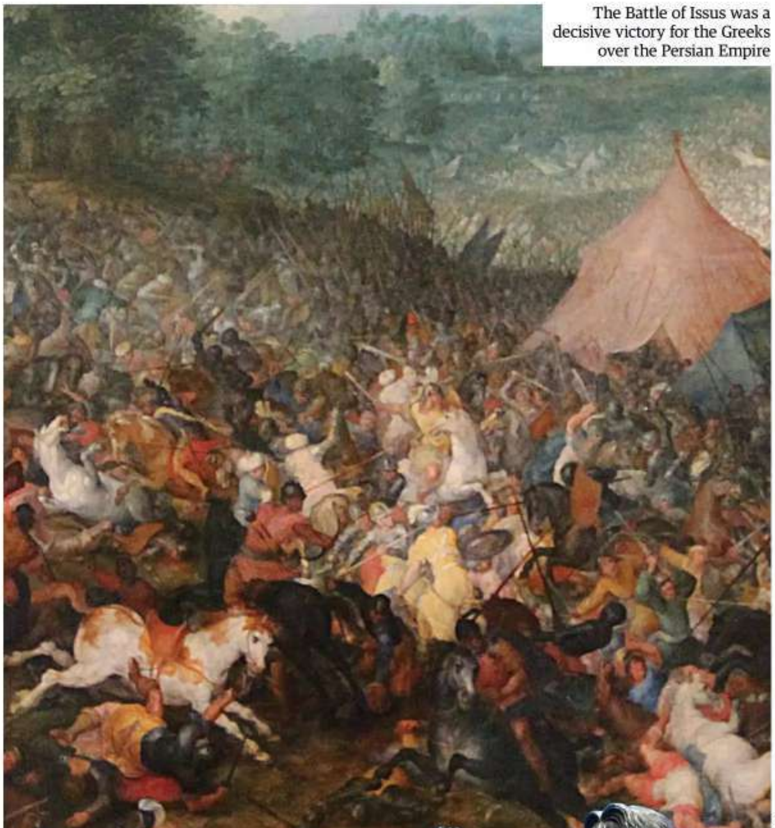
The Battle of Issus was a decisive victory for the Greeks over the Persian Empire

Image source: wiki/Louvre Museum

cluster and buzz like flies around the metaphorical corpse of the historical Alexander: to what extent did he cultivate a romanticised image of himself in order to mask his bloodthirsty tendencies?

There's no question but that he was bloodthirsty. Indeed, some historians today think he was uniquely and unnecessarily motivated by bloodlust, whereas others might gauge the extent of the blood he spilled against the vast size of the empire he created and the heterogeneous nature of the opposition he inevitably encountered in creating it. Nor is there any question but that he sedulously cultivated an image of himself as a divinely appointed and divinely gifted world-ruler. Official artists (sculptors such as Lysippus, painters such as Apelles, gem-cutters such as Pyrgoteles) were laid under contribution, for a handsome fee of course, as was an official historian. That proved a poisoned chalice when the historian chose to oppose one of his master and employer's most cherished moves, the integration of his Macedonian-Greek and Persian courts by way of the ritual of proskynesis, obeisance or the kowtow.

The question therefore is whether Alexander thought of himself as especially bloodthirsty, or whether he thought that others so perceived him, to the extent that it might be counted as an obstacle to rather than an enabler of his rule. This author's feeling is that he did not and that others did not either. The ancient world as a whole was a good deal more brutal than gentler ages find it easy to comprehend. In any case, the specifically romantic – as opposed to heroic – image of Alexander was a much much later, posthumous creation. The Alexander Romance had its origins only in the high Roman imperial period and really flowered only in the European Middle Ages. It is difficult enough for us to get any sort of accurate grasp of Alexander's mentality without introducing extraneous, anachronistic considerations. ○

An imposing statue of Alexander the Great watches over Thessaloniki in Greece

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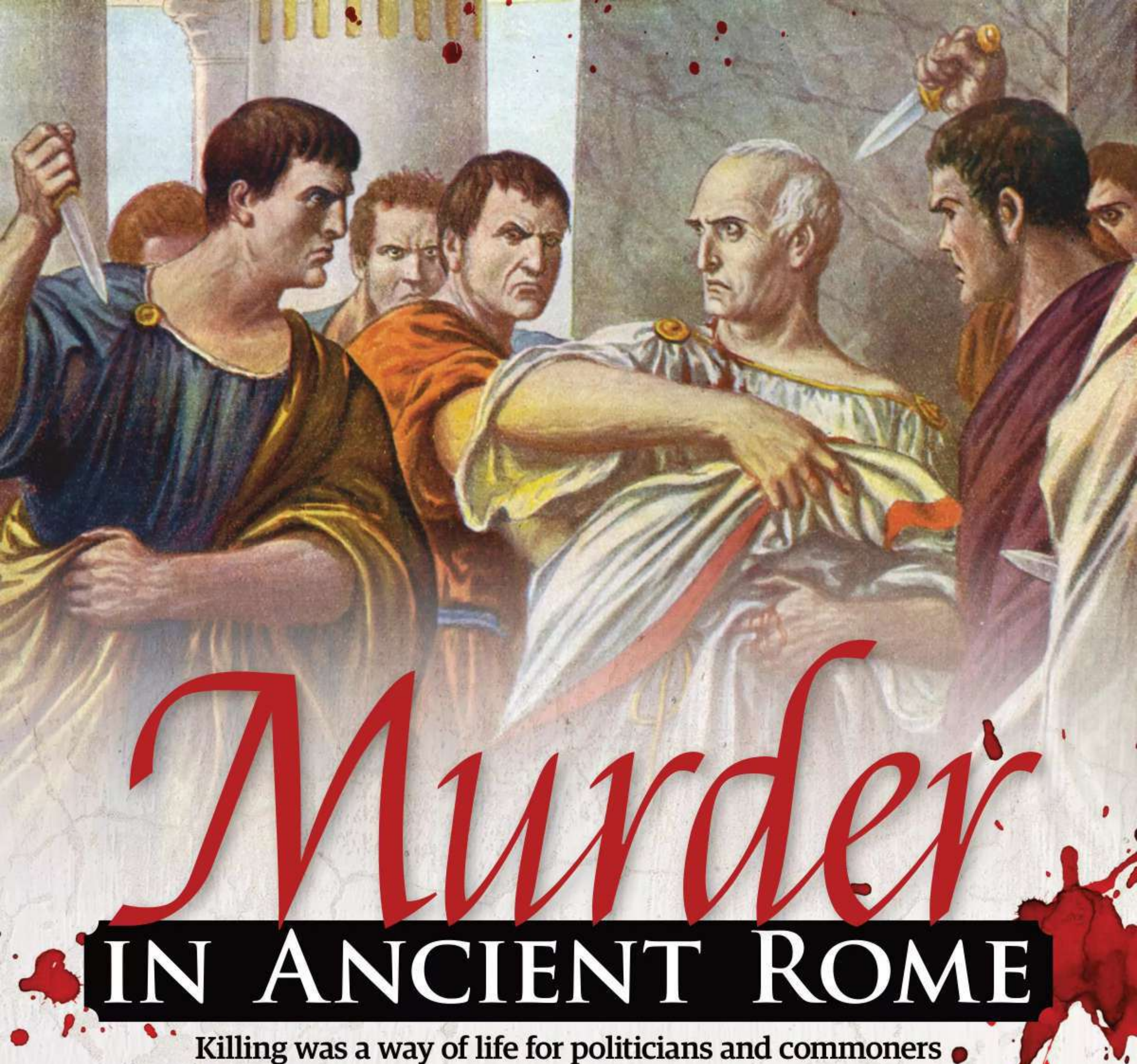

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Murder IN ANCIENT ROME

Killing was a way of life for politicians and commoners alike, as we learn with historian Dr Emma Southon

Written by Jonathan Gordon

When Julius Caesar entered the Senate House on 15 March 44 BCE, he is said to have done so in good spirits. He had heard the prophecy of the threat against him, but surrounded and supported by his friends, he felt he had nothing to fear. As it happened, it was those same friends who would be the ones to murder him and end his ascent as ruler of Rome.

The story of the assassination of Caesar is probably the most famous example of murder in Ancient Rome, but it was far from the last. In fact, only a cursory glance at the reigns of the emperors who would follow him shows that the life expectancy of the ruler of Rome was often short - and not because of old age or illness. Going back even further into Rome's history, it becomes clear that this was a world in which murder was a tool like any other in political life. It's

DR EMMA SOUTHON

Dr Southon has a PhD in Ancient History from the University of Birmingham and is the author of *Agrippina: Empress, Exile, Hustler, Whore* about the life of Agrippina the Younger. She is also the co-host of history/comedy podcast *History Is Sexy* with writer Janina Matthewson.

this very history that Dr Emma Southon explores in her new book *A Fatal Thing Happened On The Way To The Forum*.

"The first magistrate to be murdered by the Senate was Tiberius Gracchus," Southon tells us. "He was beaten to death by a mob of furious senators while he was tribune of the plebs and trying to force through land reforms. He was retroactively declared an enemy of Rome and the Senate celebrated his death. That happened in 133 BCE." And this was just the beginning. "Paramilitary gangs led by people such as Milo and Clodius Pulcher roamed the streets and controlled elections by beating and killing people," explains Southon. "Cicero's house was burnt down. Mark Anthony once chased Clodius, who was tribune of the plebs, across the forum with a knife. Clodius was eventually murdered in a street brawl with Milo. For about two full generations of Roman politics, the landscape was incredibly violent. Murder was not so much legitimate as commonplace."

> *"Mark Anthony once chased Clodius, who was tribune of the plebs, across the forum with a knife"*

Taking a step back from the political sphere, Roman society was steeped in violence in many quarters. The popularity of gladiatorial combat is as good an example of this as any other. But it begs the question: what was it about how the Romans viewed life and death that would make such actions seem acceptable?

"The main takeaway is that social death was culturally as important as physical death to the Romans," Southon tells us. "People who had no *fama* or *dignitas*, like slaves, gladiators, actors or sex workers, were effectively already dead in Roman culture and, outside of their personal families and circles, made no ripples in the social fabric when they were killed. In modern homicide studies, these people are called the 'less-dead'."

So, with the 'lower classes' seen as expendable, their death was business as usual. "From enslaved people being beaten to death, to revenge killings, to public executions in the arena, to crucifixions on the busiest highways, to gladiatorial games, to bandits who roamed the countryside, and then every person who died a natural death that was perceived to be witchcraft, homicide was a really regular part of life for a lot of Romans, which is really tough to get one's head around," says Southon. "So although they reacted with the expected grief and horror when someone they loved or someone famous died, they were exposed to the homicide of strangers on a regular basis and were, for the most part, not negatively moved by it."

So, in this context was murder even something Romans cared about? Yes, but only if the victim was deemed worthy of that care. "A person in Roman culture was defined by their fama and their dignitas – their good name, reputation, prestige and honour. Someone with lots of dignitas and/or fama, like a magistrate or a member of an important family of the senatorial class, is therefore very literally more important than someone with neither. People designated infames - of bad repute - like actors, bar owners, people found guilty of certain crimes, enslaved people, were unmurderable in a certain sense. Their families might get upset but they had no real recourse. On the other hand when Apronia, daughter of the consul Lucius Apronius, whose father held the right to wear Triumphal Ornaments, was murdered, Emperor Tiberius held a personal investigation and oversaw the initiation of formal charges against her husband."

With social standing being so important in whether someone's killing would be punished, it should come as no surprise that the exact statutes on lawful and unlawful killings were also murky. "The laws concerning murder in Rome are complicated and evolved a lot over the centuries. The earliest law code, the *Twelve Tables*, are now very fragmentary but seem to have only considered accidental homicide (manslaughter) rather than murder," says Southon. "Judy E Gaughan argues that the earliest approximation to a law making murder illegal in Rome was Sulla's *Lex Cornelia Sullæ de Sicariis et Veneficis*, which made various specific forms of homicide illegal in the wake of the social wars and the civil wars between Sulla and Marius. Things like carrying a dagger with intent to kill and bribing judges to find defendants guilty in capital cases were explicitly outlawed for the first time in order to restore a semblance of order in the aftermath of

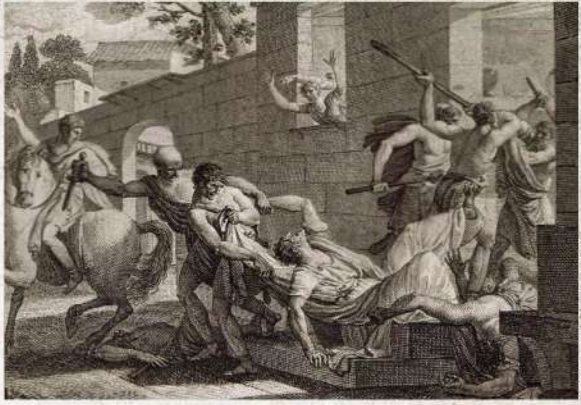


Image source: wiki/Silvestre David Mirys

ABOVE Clodius, a politician and activist, was killed by gladiators on the orders of Milo

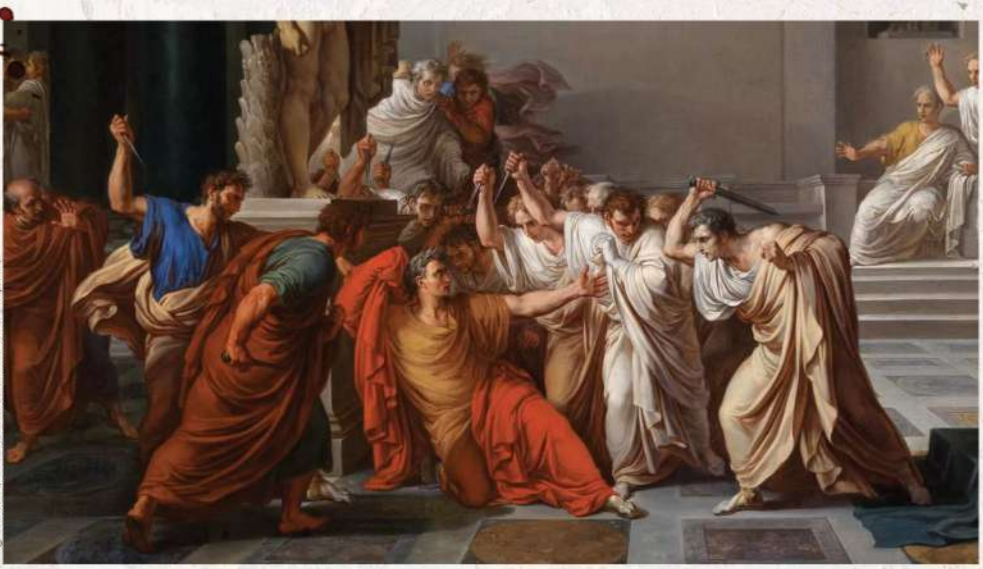


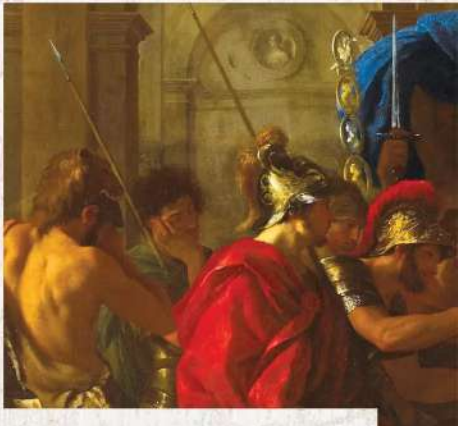
Image source: wiki/Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna e Contemporanea

BELOW The assassination of Julius Caesar is a typical example of the kind of political conspiracy that lead to the murder of a Roman leader a civil war. But it didn't come close to making murder as a generic act of the deliberate killing of a person illegal."

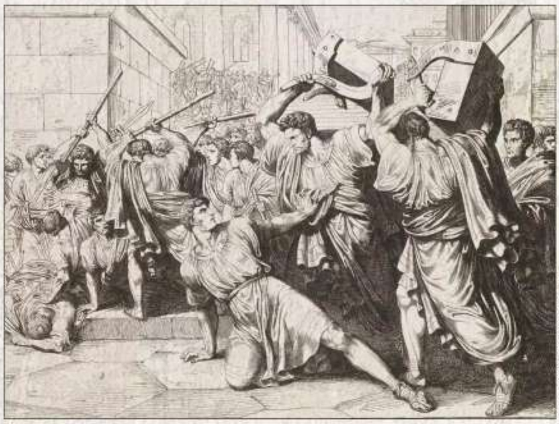
One of the things that's notable about the *Lex Cornelia Sullæ de Sicariis et Veneficis* is that while it does concern itself a little with killings and sacrifices, it was equally interested in the use of magic and seemed, in places, to care more about magical rites being used to influence others than about the death utilised in performing the rites. Indeed, magic was among the few methods of murder that seemed to universally concern Romans. "Poisonings and magical murders (which are intertwined in the Roman imagination into essentially the same thing) were treated as the most serious crimes, as messing with magic and poison was considered to be deeply unacceptable," Southon explains to us. "Street stabbings, particularly by bandits and what are often described as 'professional murderers' were also taken very seriously."

But even with all of those concerns, there was still a certain permissiveness around killings, not just around class, but also dependent upon motivation, particularly around the time of Sulla. "At that time in Roman history, there was no interest in the government in regulating who could and could not use deadly violence," explains Southon. "Rome had a 'self-help' system of justice, which meant that it was up to the victim or the victim's family to resolve injustices, and sometimes that involved revenge killings, which the Roman senate and magistrates were not going to start regulating. It wasn't until the Roman government and the stability of the state came to rest on the power (and safety) of one man that, gradually, the right of the Roman people to kill

> "Emperors who disrespected the Senate were always on a one-way trip to Stabsville"

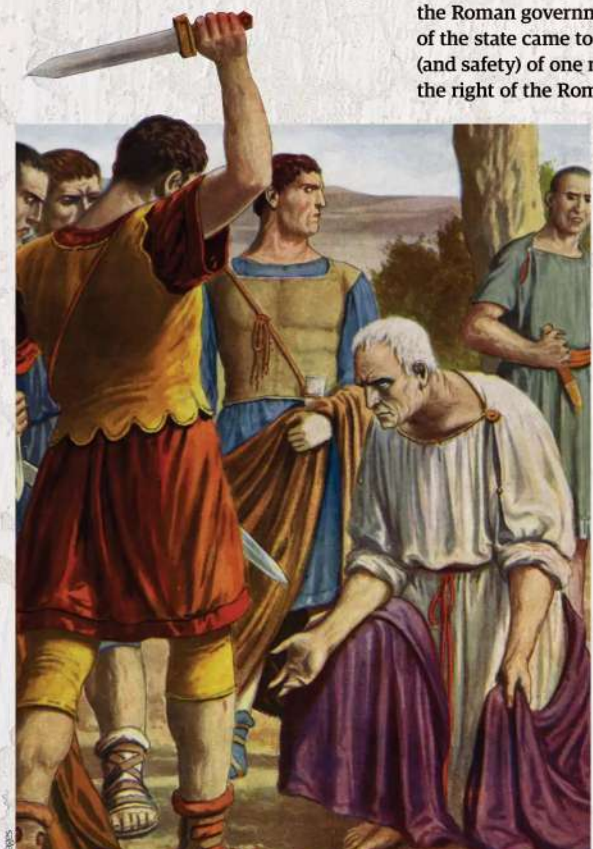


RIGHT The circumstances of Germanicus' death (father of Agrippina) were suspicious enough that the governor of Syria was charged with murder by means of magic



BELOW Tiberius Gracchus would himself be the victim of murder

Image source: wiki/Rijksmuseum



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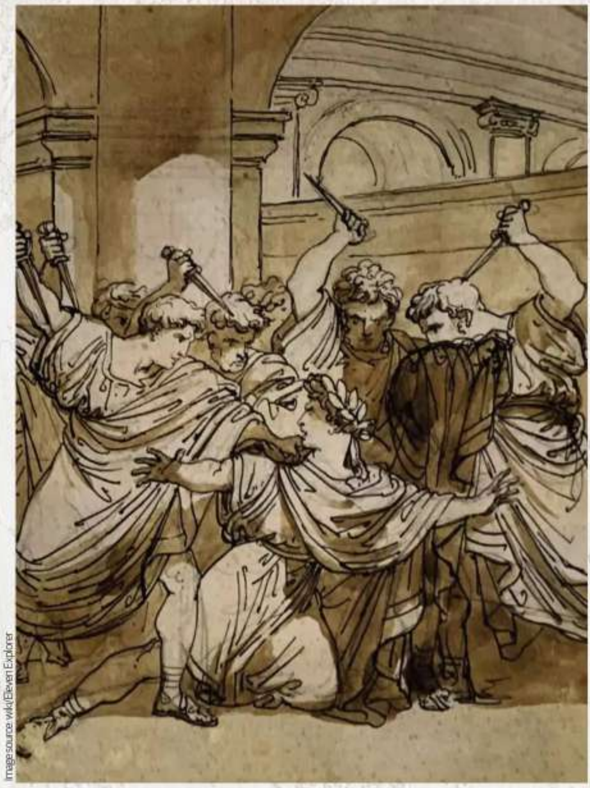


Image source: wiki/Eleven Explorer

FAR-LEFT Like many of his contemporaries, Cicero met with a grisly demise

LEFT The death of Caligula appears very similar to that of Julius Caesar

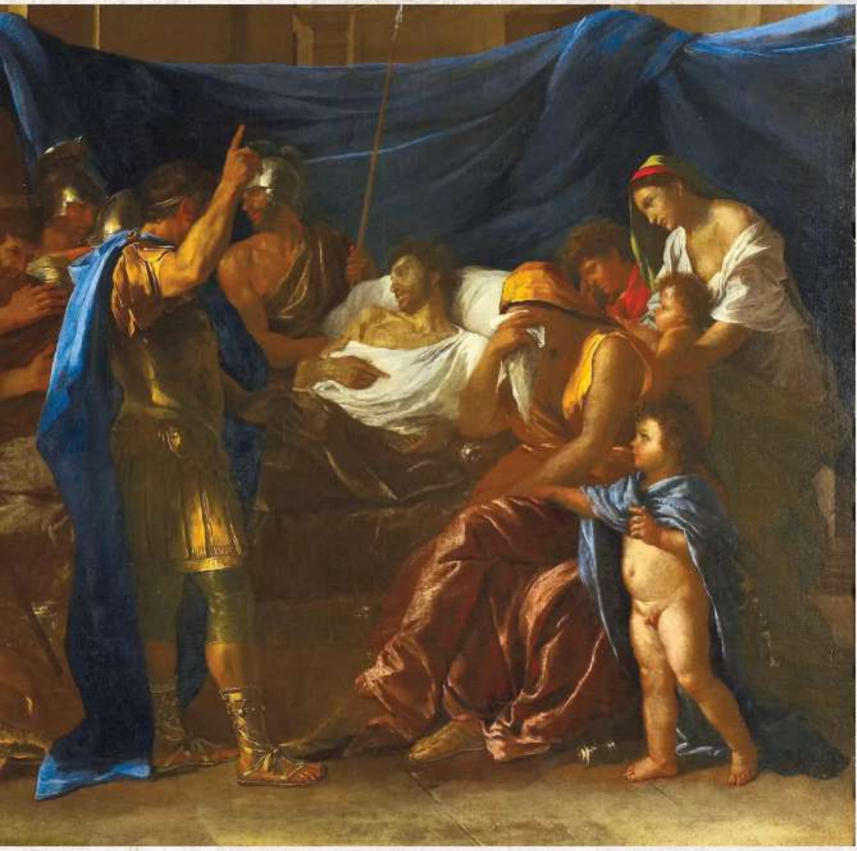


Image source: wiki/Google Cultural Institute

other people, including enslaved people, was worn away through imperial decree. It's not until the reign of Hadrian that a formal decree was made that outlawed killing and attempted killing of free men."

Even so, these sometimes vague rules around murder meant that all sorts of strange rulings and conflicts emerged. Southon recalls one particularly interesting case involving Roman consul Gnaeus Cornelius Dolabella and a woman accused of poisoning her husband and son. "She was brought before the governor of the province to be punished, but when she got there she defended herself by telling the governor that they had murdered her son from a previous marriage, and so she killed them in revenge," says Southon. "This was a huge problem for the governor because killing a member of one's family was a terrible moral outrage, which required punishment, but revenge killings were not only acceptable but very much central to Roman self-help justice. So Dolabella couldn't acquit the woman, but also couldn't condemn her because both actions would violate something central to Roman morality and justice. So he sent her to the ancient court of the Areopagus in Athens, who'd acquitted Orestes in Greek myth and tragedy, to make the decision. The Greek judges, unwilling to oppose their Roman overlords and make a decision that would be wrong either way, resolved the issue by postponing judgement for 100 years."

As with this example, location could have as much of a bearing on the decision-making of courts as social standing and citizenship. Governors held most of the sway in Roman outposts, but back in Rome juries were needed to tackle crimes of respected citizens of the city. These juries were later replaced by appointees of the emperor once the imperial era was well established. And, of course, there was no police force to speak of to investigate crimes, with the military left to apprehend and hold suspects in the provinces and a special unit patrolling in Rome itself, run by the urban prefect.

All of this begins to paint a picture of a particularly conflicted and contradictory attitude towards life, death and justice, one that only gets more complicated when we begin to once again examine murder in the political field more closely. Unlike sex workers, slaves or gladiators,

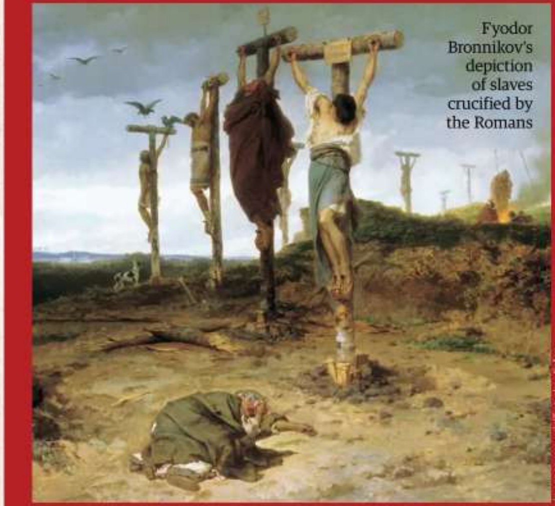
ONE MURDER, 400 VICTIMS

The punishment could be even worse than the crime

As we explore with Dr Southon, murder was all too common in Ancient Rome and was often used as a tool for personal advancement or maintaining the status quo. But the state could be just as ruthless in its punishments, as illustrated by the murder of Lucius Pedanius Secundus by an enslaved member of his household.

"The reasons given for the murder vary," explains Southon. "Either Secundus had promised the murderer his freedom and then rescinded the promise, or the man had been in love with Secundus's catamite (an underaged sex slave) and wanted Secundus to free the boy from his 'duties'. The murder itself was reasonably shocking in Rome but the consequences were all the more outrageous. A recent law had been enacted by the Senate which stated that when an enslaved person killed their enslaver, every single enslaved member of the household would be crucified. In this case, Secundus had a household of over 400 enslaved men, women and children, and some more freedmen, all of whom now had to be executed by the state."

This didn't go without a response from the people of Rome, however. "Among the working people of the city there was uproar as 400 executions, including the executions of children, for the actions of one man appalled them," says Southon. "But the Senate – all of whom were extremely well-off enslavers, surrounded by enslaved people day and night – debated the issue and came to the conclusion that it was necessary to go through with the executions in order to make sure that enslaved people remained afraid and crushed by the system. 'The only way to control such a medley of people is through terror,' a senator said according to Tacitus. 'Innocent lives will be lost, but the individual injustices are outweighed by the advantages to the community.' It took two attempts to carry out the crucifixions because protestors prevented the first go. The army had to be brought in to protect the executioners and all 400 people were executed."

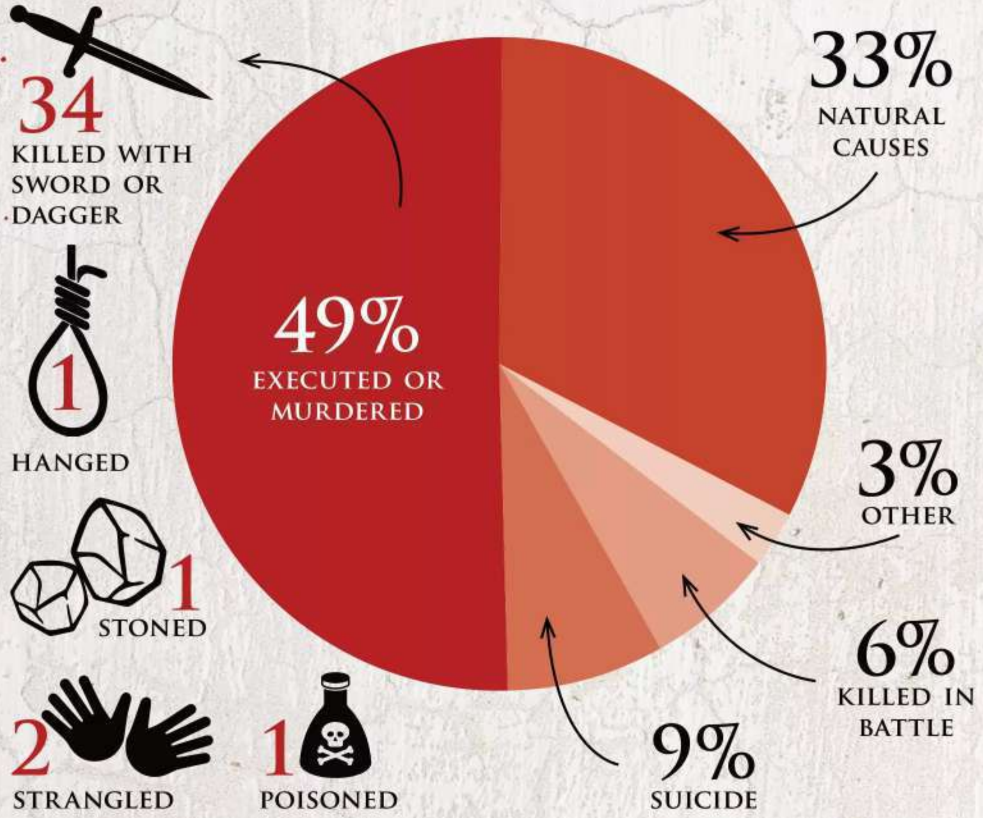


Fyodor Bronnikov's depiction of slaves crucified by the Romans

Image source: wiki/Tretyakov Gallery

THE END OF AN EMPEROR

The most common (and unusual) means of death for Roman rulers 27 BCE to 476 CE



senators and emperors couldn't be argued to be lacking in fama or dignitas, and they were being cut down at incredibly rapid rates. Between 235 CE and 284 CE, for example, there were 21 emperors and only one of them can be said to have died from natural causes. (Claudius Gothicus still only lasted two years as he died from plague while campaigning against the Goths.)

"In the 503 years of the imperial period (27 BCE - 476 CE), 49 per cent of emperors were murdered and another nine per cent died by suicide," Southon says. "The longest dynasty was the first, which lasted 95 years and five emperors, of which two were murdered and one died by suicide. Being emperor was a dangerous job! It was hard to survive and balance the competing interests of the empire, the senate, the Praetorian Guard and the armies in the provinces."

With life expectancy looking bleak, was there anything that you could do to improve your chances of surviving in the job? Southon explains some of the key factors that could lead to longevity as the head of Rome. "The emperors who survived to die a natural death in their beds, like Trajan, Hadrian, Vespasian and Diocletian, were largely army generals with the right combination of military success and interests, which kept the armies happy; an interest in bureaucracy which kept the empire running without

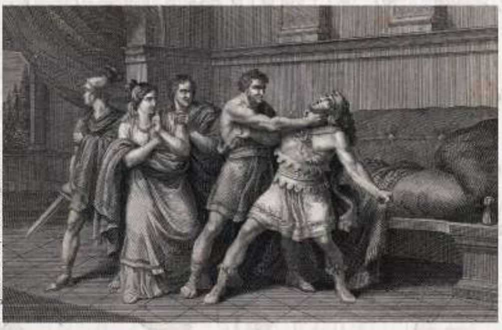


Image source: wiki/Wellcome Collection

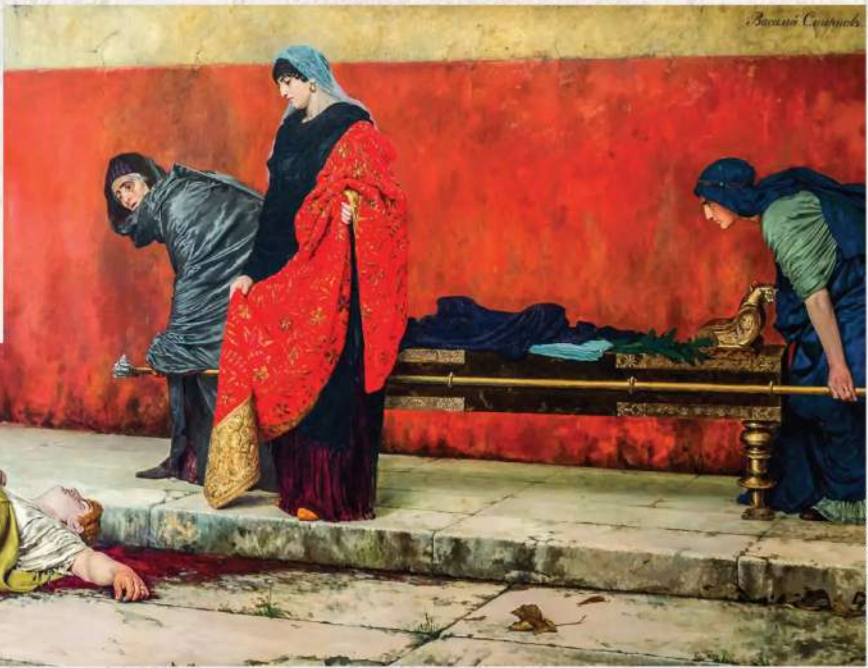
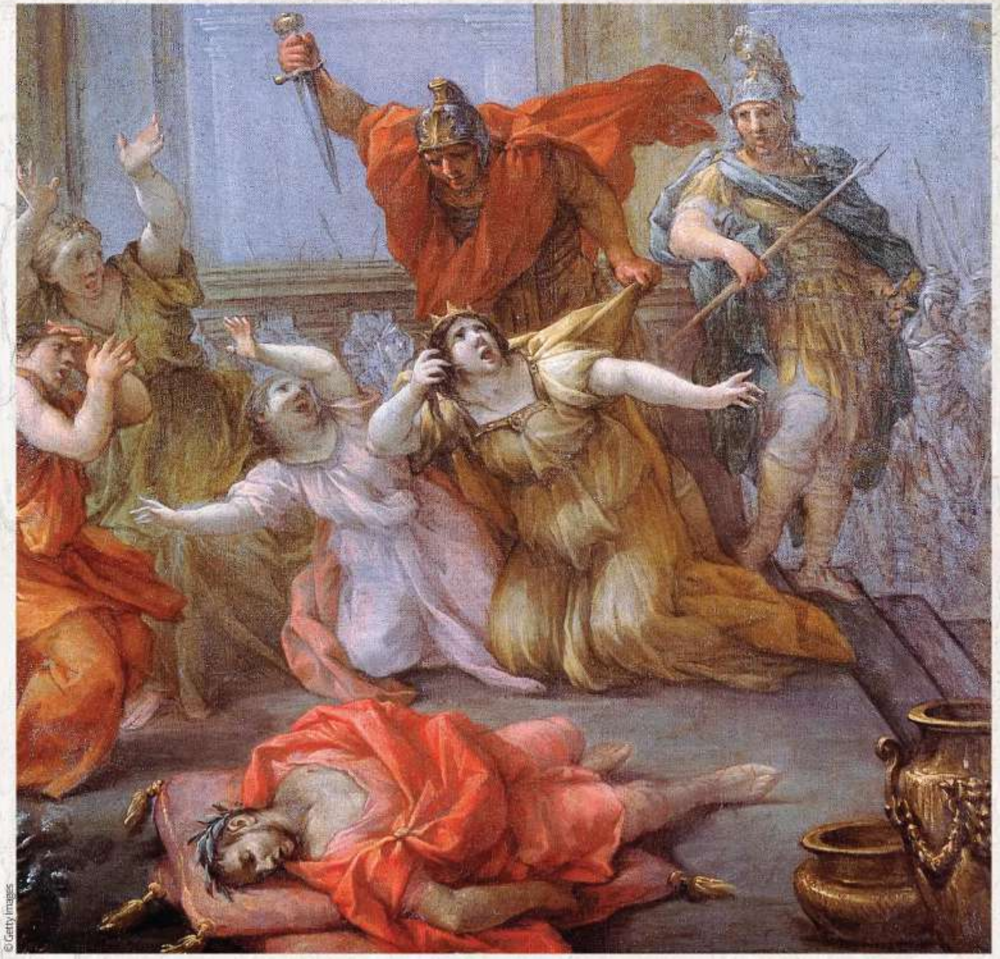


Image source: wiki/The Russian Museum



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too many famines, money flowing to the Praetorian Guard, and a diplomatic approach to stroking the egos of the Senate. The Senate liked to believe, for a very, very long time, that they were the smartest guys around and that the job of an emperor was to take their advice and flatter them constantly and definitely not kill them! Emperors who disrespected the Senate, like Caligula, Nero, Commodus, Domitian, and Elagabalus, were always on a one-way trip to Stabsville because changing the emperor meant changing the whole flavour and colour of the government."

And even when a good run of leaders could be put together, it would invariably fall apart. "The Nerva-Antonine dynasty hit on the perfect formula for successful emperors: each successive emperor was adopted as an adult by his predecessor and was chosen for his proven abilities as a leader and a general," says Southon. "Marcus Aurelius ruined the whole thing after the death of his adoptive brother and co-ruler Lucius Verus when he allowed his son Commodus to inherit the throne instead of granting it to a proven adult. Commodus turned out to be the spoiled, disrespectful weak leader all princes-turned-emperors were and ended his reign by being strangled by a gladiator in the bath."

> "Commodus ended his reign by being strangled in the bath by a gladiator"

As much as an emperor might be a common target for assassination, Southon also highlights an example of an emperor trying their hand at being a detective after a woman named Apronia, as previously mentioned, was killed and her husband, Plautius Silvanus was the prime suspect. Given the importance of the family, Emperor Tiberius took a personal interest in the case.

"[Silvanus] threw her out of a window, which is strange in itself as a method of murder, and left her body to be found so he could claim she fell out while he was asleep," reveals Southon. "Then the emperor Tiberius got personally involved and did a crime-scene investigation, an event so unique and unexpected that Silvanus hadn't even bothered to tidy up after the fight that ended with his wife being defenestrated. Tiberius found 'traces of resistance offered and force employed' and so Silvanus was carted off to face a trial. Before that trial happened, however, he stabbed himself with a dagger his grandmother sent him."

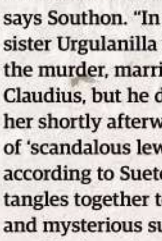
The question of motive in this remains a mystery, but there have been some suggestions. "All that is odd but there's no reason given by Tacitus for the murder, and a theory was developed by an Italian researcher that a couple of years before the murder Silvanus had been found guilty of sexually assaulting his son and that this might have been related to the murder," says Southon. "In addition, Silvanus's sister Urgulanilla was, at the time of the murder, married to the emperor Claudius, but he dramatically divorced her shortly afterwards on the basis of 'scandalous lewdness and murder' according to Suetonius. All of which tangles together to create the strange and mysterious suggestion of a horrible, possibly incestuous, sex and murder ring at the highest level of Roman society in the reign of Tiberius!"

It's fascinating to consider how differently the Romans thought about the legality and legitimacy of people killing one another and crime in general, as this example makes clear. For all of Rome's lauded civility there remained a dark and barbaric heart that seemingly could not be quelled. The value of life was simply thought about very differently in this era than we would hope for today. ○

ABOVE Caligula's killers went on to kill his wife, Caesonia, and their daughter

LEFT While Nero committed suicide, it's believed that he asked for assistance in driving home the dagger

FAR-LEFT (INSET) Commodus proved difficult to kill, throwing up the poison he was originally given and then strangled by his wrestling partner



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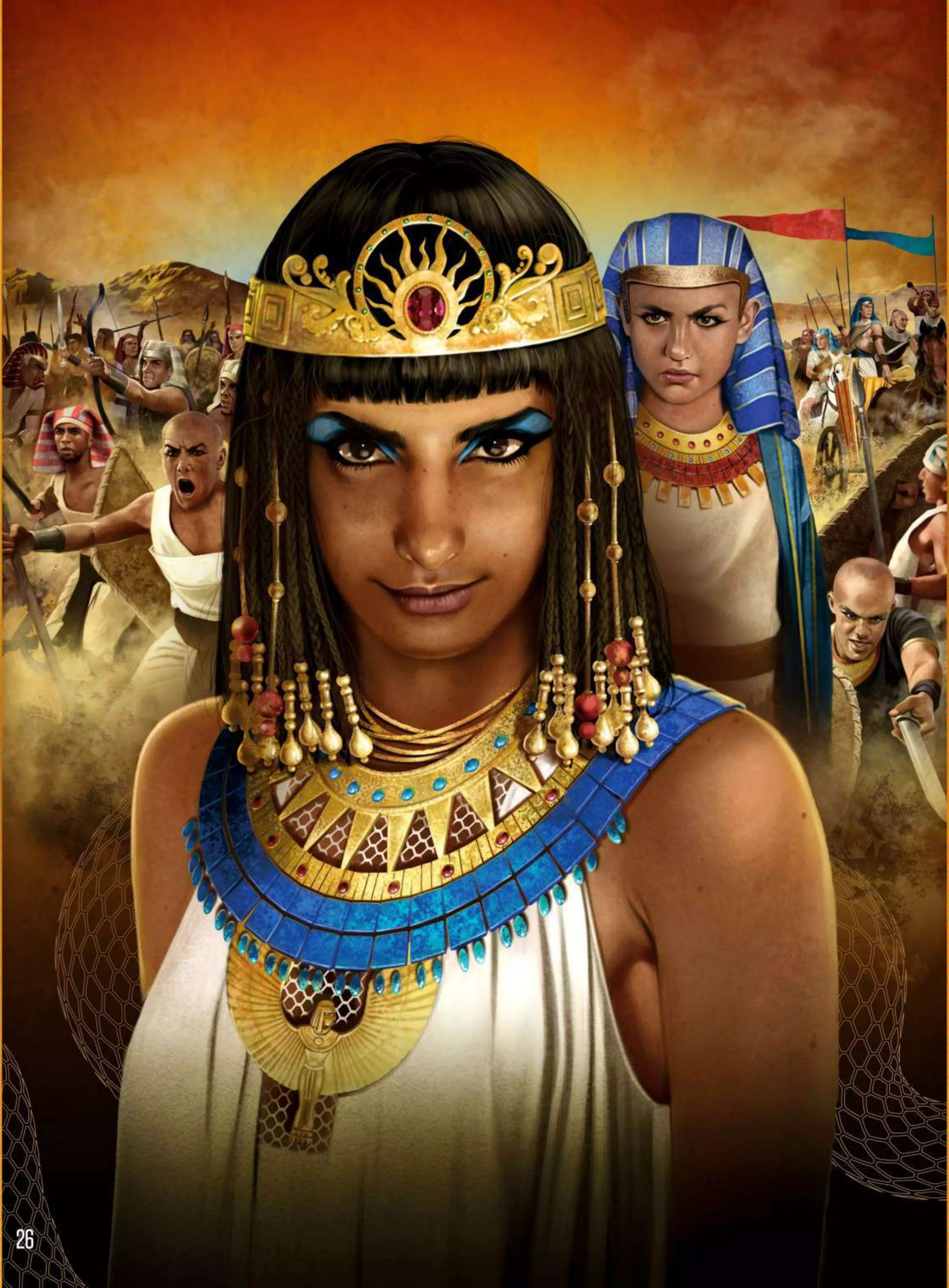
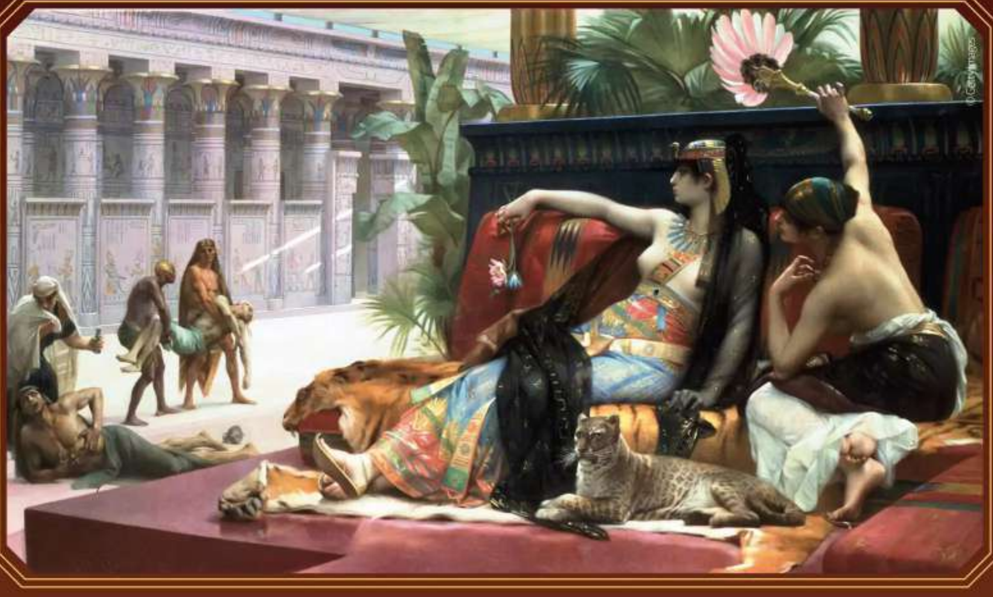


BLOODY RISE OF CLEOPATRA

How Egypt's last pharaoh betrayed her brothers to seize the throne

Written by Jessica Leggett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Cleopatra VII was one of the most powerful female rulers of the ancient world, and her beauty, charisma and love affairs have remained a source of fascination for over 2,000 years. She has been immortalised countless times in popular culture as a femme fatale, a tragic heroine and a cold-blooded, murderous queen whose reign came to a deadly end. But did you know her rise to power was just as dramatic?

The one thing to bear in mind before exploring Cleopatra's ascent is that, sadly, there is very little evidence about her life that comes from Egypt. Instead, most of the sources that have survived were produced by her enemies, the Romans, who created hostile propaganda that warped and mythologised her story to suit their perspective. As a result, despite extensive research into her life, Cleopatra mostly remains as a mystery to us and a source of constant speculation.

She was born around 69 BCE into Egypt's ruling Ptolemaic dynasty, the daughter of King Ptolemy XII Auletes. It's believed that her mother was Cleopatra V Tryphaena, who was possibly Ptolemy XII's half-sister, but her true identity remains a source of confusion and she is sometimes referred to as Cleopatra VI. Altogether, it's thought that Ptolemy had three daughters, with Cleopatra being his second, and two sons.

Although the Ptolemies ruled Egypt, they were actually a Greek dynasty that had been founded by Ptolemy I Soter, a Macedonian general who served under Alexander the Great. Alexander had conquered Egypt in 332 BCE and founded the city of Alexandria, which became the capital of both Egypt and the Hellenistic world, as well as the base of Ptolemy's royal family.

ABOVE
Cleopatra had to murder her rivals in order to survive

Not only was Alexandria home to a high level of Greek culture, but it also boasted the finest scholars and one of the greatest libraries in the world. As she was born and raised in the capital, Cleopatra would likely have been educated by Greek tutors in the Musaeum, a research institution that also included the library. ▶

Illustration by: Joe Cummings

Even though the details of her life are sparse, it's well-known that Cleopatra was a skilled linguist, speaking several languages. She was the first member of from the Ptolemaic dynasty to read, write and speak Egyptian, as the rest of the Ptolemies had continued to use Greek.

Intelligent from a young age, Cleopatra needed all the advantages at her disposal just to survive in her own family. The Ptolemies had a long history of murdering one another as they fought among themselves to seize power. It was a bloodthirsty dynasty filled with rivalries fuelled by conspiracy and greed. To trust your kin was naive - for a Ptolemy, it was kill or be killed.

Cleopatra learnt this in her formative years during her father's turbulent reign. Ptolemy XII had ascended the throne in around 80 BCE after a civil war that saw the last legitimate members of the dynasty killed. As an illegitimate son of a previous king, Ptolemy IX Soter, Ptolemy XII increasingly relied on Rome to help him maintain his rule. His precarious position was complicated further due to the will of his late uncle, King Ptolemy X, which explicitly stated that if there were no heirs to assume the Ptolemaic throne, then Egypt would belong to Rome.

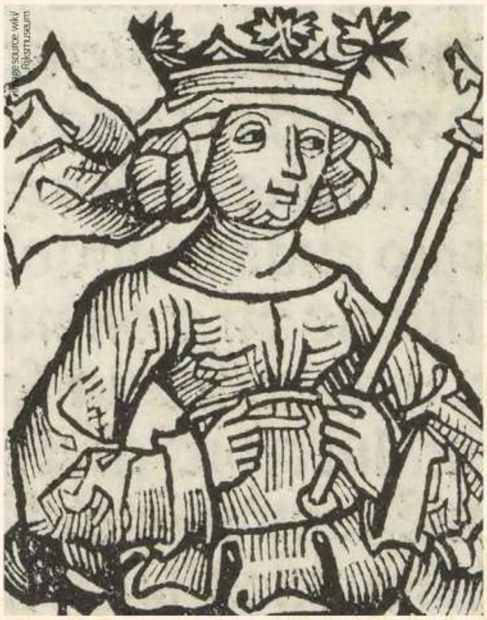
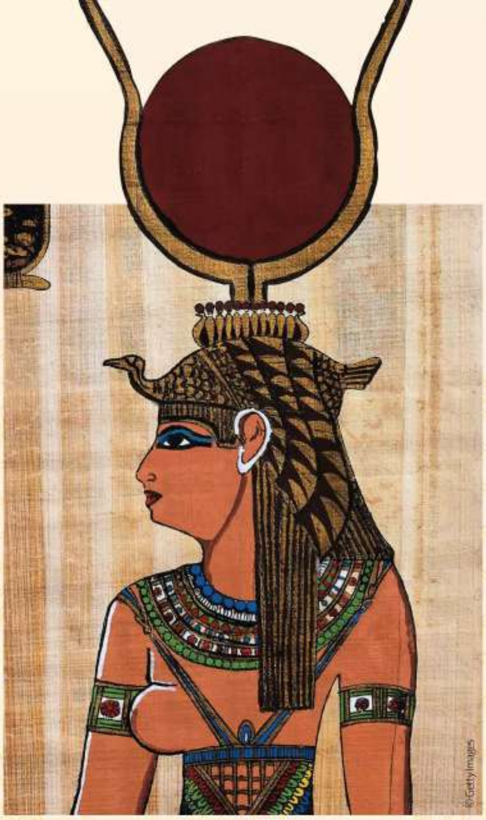


Image source: wiki/ Rijksmuseum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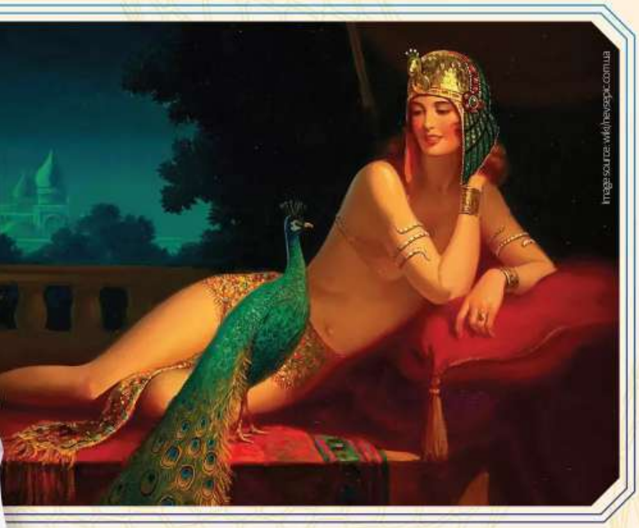


Image source: wiki/hevsepic.com.ua

ABOVE-LEFT This 15th century illustration reimagines Cleopatra as a contemporary ruler

ABOVE-RIGHT An image of Cleopatra VII on papyrus

LEFT Cleopatra has become synonymous with luxury and indulgence

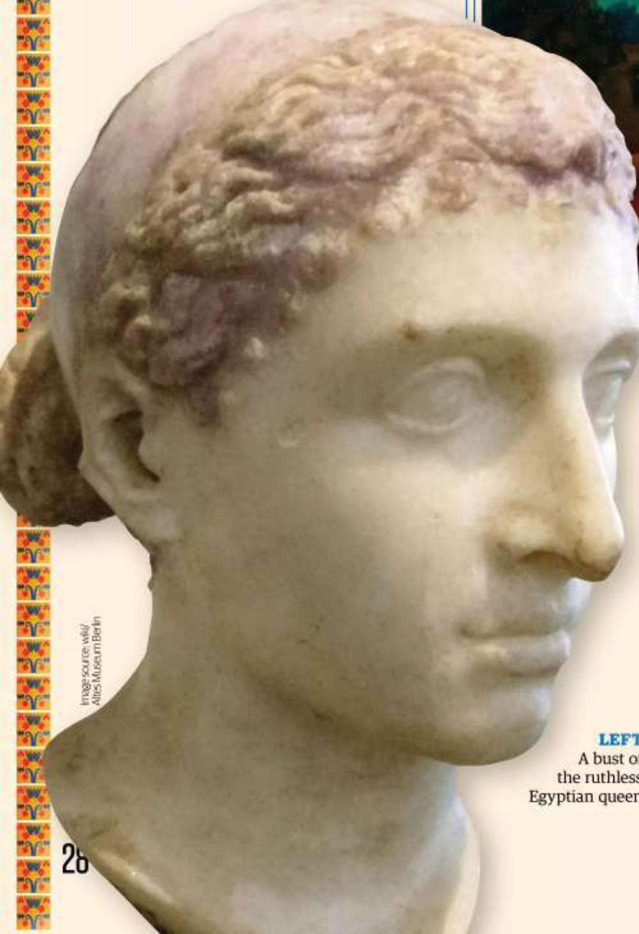


Image source: wiki/ Altes Museum Berlin

LEFT A bust of the ruthless Egyptian queen

To prevent his realm from being invaded and annexed, Ptolemy tried to maintain a good relationship with Rome by pursuing a policy of bribery, raising funds through taxation and loans from wealthy Roman bankers. Consequently, when Cleopatra was born around a decade into her father's reign, Egypt - once a wealthy and prosperous state - was well and truly broke.

The growing discontent and anger among the Alexandrians, who disliked Ptolemy's close links with Rome, exploded when the Romans seized Cyprus in 58 BCE. Cyprus had been ruled by the king's brother - Ptolemy of Cyprus - who had refused to bow down to the Romans and committed suicide instead. Choosing to preserve his relationship with Rome, Ptolemy did not react at all to the annexation or his brother's death, and so he was promptly deposed.

Fleeing to Rome, Ptolemy stayed at the home of general Pompey the Great while his wife, Cleopatra V Tryphaena, and his eldest daughter, Berenice IV, assumed the throne in his absence. Cleopatra V died soon afterwards, possibly killed on Berenice's orders, leaving the latter as sole ruler. Berenice briefly married Seleucus, her cousin and a Seleucid prince, but it wasn't long before the queen had him strangled to death.

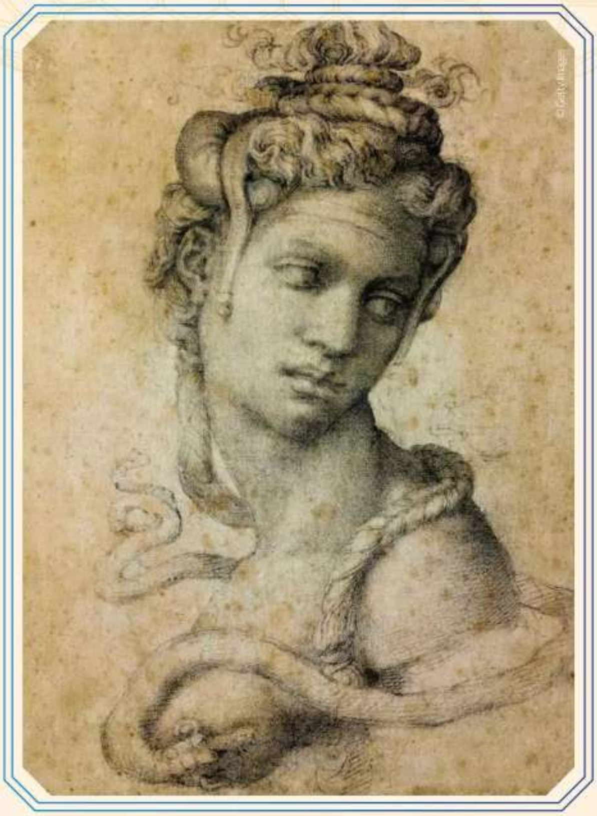
Berenice, who was popular with the Alexandrians, tried to cement her position as queen by sending delegates to Rome to advocate for the legitimacy of her reign. Unfortunately for her, her father had them murdered before they could arrive and plead her case. Ptolemy XII's creditors wanted him returned to the Egyptian throne so that they could recoup the money that they had lent him, but the Romans did not want to launch an invasion.

Instead, Ptolemy resorted to paying Roman general Aulus Gabinius, an ally of Pompey's, to help him invade Egypt and regain his throne from his daughter. In 55 BCE, Gabinius's forces successfully reached Alexandria and stormed the palace, restoring Ptolemy as king, while Berenice and her supporters were captured and executed.

After witnessing all this turmoil, Cleopatra got her first taste of power when her father named her as his co-ruler, which allowed her to prepare herself for her succession to the throne after his death. She was 18 years old when Ptolemy passed away in 51 BCE, leaving his throne to both her and her younger brother, Ptolemy XIII, who was around 10 years old.

The two siblings soon married in the Ptolemaic tradition. For the Ptolemies, it was normal practice to have a co-ruler, usually a brother or sister, to keep power and wealth within the royal family. This was further reinforced with incestuous marriages that were intended to maintain the purity of the Ptolemaic bloodline, a custom that began when Ptolemy II married his full sister, Arsinoe II in around 273 BCE. While the Greeks disapproved of such marriages, it was an Egyptian custom that the dynasty chose to adopt.

> “THE PTOLEMIES HAD A LONG HISTORY OF MURDERING ONE ANOTHER AS MANY OF THEM TRIED TO SEIZE POWER FOR THEMSELVES”



© Getty Images

LEFT Even long after her death Cleopatra inspired artists, including some of the greats like Michelangelo

© Alamy

WHAT DID CLEOPATRA REALLY LOOK LIKE?

The burning question historians keep trying to answer

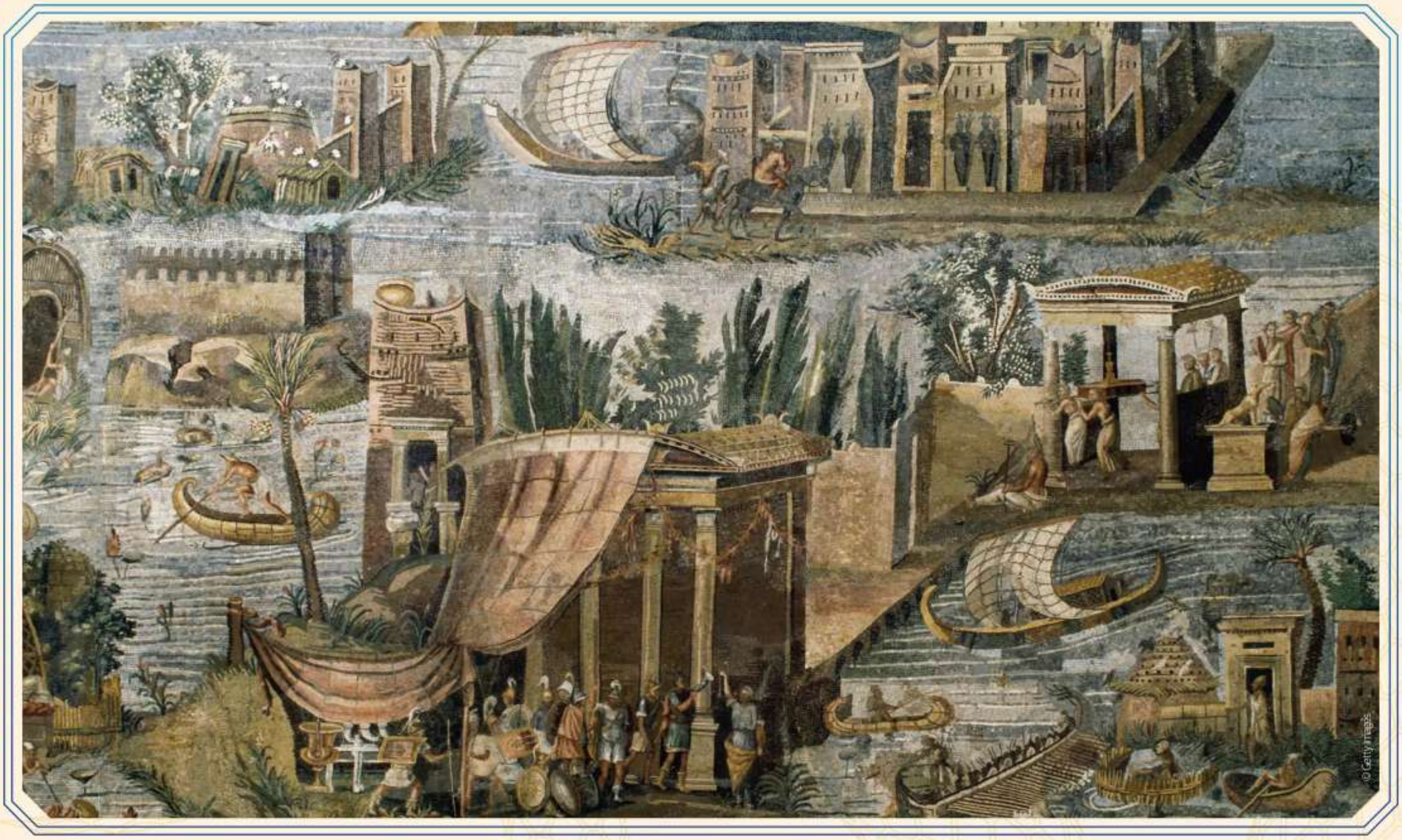
For a historical figure as well-known as Cleopatra, it's odd that we really have no sense of what she looked like. The muse for so many artists, poets and writers over the centuries, the true visage of the last pharaoh of Egypt is muddied by both time and inaccurate repetition.

Thanks to being on the wrong side of the Roman civil war, it's believed that many examples of contemporary portraits of her were destroyed by Octavian, Julius Caesar's heir. What we're left with is around ten coins (approved for distribution by Cleopatra, so questionable in accuracy), a handful of statues (most in very stylised forms, so difficult to judge) and some contemporary accounts of her appearance (mostly contradictory).

But historians continue to pick away to find the truth. What we can be confident in saying is that she was not Egyptian, having been born to the Macedonian Ptolemaic line, but it's also unlikely that she looked like a contemporary Greek. Her family line had lived in Egypt for 250 years, after all.

For our own recreation, we turned to the research of Dr Sally-Ann Ashton, an Egyptologist who worked on a more recent rendering of Cleopatra. Her work, which contributed to a BBC documentary called *Cleopatra: Portrait Of A Killer*, drew from statues and an understanding that she would very likely have had mixed Greek and African heritage.

But is this all a distraction? While her racial background and depiction is of contemporary interest and relevance, the obsession with Cleopatra's looks, whether she was the most attractive woman in the world or ugly, were not that relevant to her ability as a ruler. Much of the debate around her appearance in her own time was to push the conversation away from her keen political acumen; to diminish her legitimacy to rule. It was easier to think of her as a seductress than as a shrewd political operator.



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ABOVE A mosaic of the temples along the River Nile

RIGHT A bust of Cleopatra's father, Ptolemy XII Auletes

When Cleopatra assumed the throne alongside her brother, she found herself faced with the famine and drought that had struck her realm, triggered by poor harvests and the low levels of the River Nile, which had failed to flood properly. As starvation and unrest threatened to grip the country, Cleopatra deftly demonstrated her skills as an administrator, removing the tax burden on her people and ensuring that the food supply was secure, going as far as to open the granaries in Alexandria.

On top of this, Egypt had enormous debts and the economy was in tatters. Cleopatra knew that the religious temples, an extremely powerful part of Egyptian society and economy, as well as a source of great wealth, were the key to sorting out the country's financial troubles. By quickly aligning herself with the temples and reforming the monetary system, Cleopatra was successful in stabilising the economy while also making an effort to stamp out the rampant corruption that had been making the situation worse.

Religion also served another purpose for the new queen. Egyptian pharaohs had long been associated with religion and they were considered to be living gods on Earth – her father had even chosen to identify himself as the Greek god of fertility and wine, Dionysus. To bolster her political power, Cleopatra chose to self-identify as the goddess Isis, presenting herself as a maternal figure who could guide and protect her country.

This was even more crucial considering that Cleopatra, like the rest of her family members, had no desire to share power. An astute and logical politician who was confident in her decision-making, Cleopatra was described by the 10th-century Arab historian Al-Masudi as "a sage, a philosopher who elevated the ranks of scholars… she also wrote books on medicine, charms and cosmetics". She did not feel the need to consult the advisors at court, much to their chagrin, and within months of their joint rule Cleopatra had sidelined Ptolemy XIII and was being identified on official documents as Egypt's sole ruler.

Unsurprisingly, given the volatile nature of the Ptolemaic court, there were consequences for Cleopatra's actions. Ptolemy XIII had powerful allies at court, including the three men who acted as his guardians and advisors after the death of his father: his tutors Pothinus and Theodotus of Chios, and Achillas, the commander-in-chief of the Egyptian army. Resenting Cleopatra's power, the men formed a faction against her and, soon enough, the queen found herself embroiled in a civil war against her brother and his supporters.

Despite forming a brief alliance with her other brother, Ptolemy XIV, Cleopatra was deposed and driven from the palace of Alexandria in 49 BCE. By the following

▶

Image source: wiki/Jastrow

SEVENTH OF HER NAME

Who were the other Cleopatras?

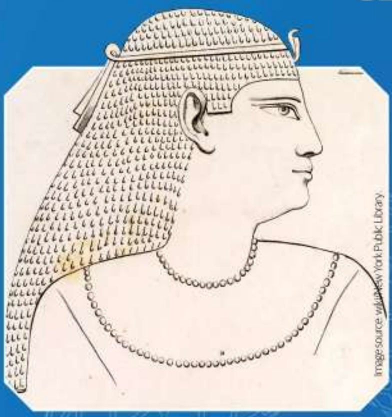


Image source: wiki/New York Public Library

CLEOPATRA I

c.204-176 BCE

The first Cleopatra of the Ptolemy line was actually from Syria, the daughter of Antiochus III. She was married to Ptolemy V Epiphanes in 193 BCE as part of a peace treaty between the two kings. When her husband died in 180 BCE she took sole control of the kingdom as regent for her young son, managing the duelling interests of Syria and Rome.

Image source: wiki/Jastrow

CLEOPATRA II

c.183-116 BCE

Sometimes referred to as Cleopatra II Philometor, meaning 'Mother-loving', Cleopatra II was the daughter of Cleopatra I and like her mother would rule Egypt alone for a period. Having been married to both her brothers (this was not uncommon for the Ptolemy pharaohs) she took over Upper Egypt when Ptolemy VIII was exiled.

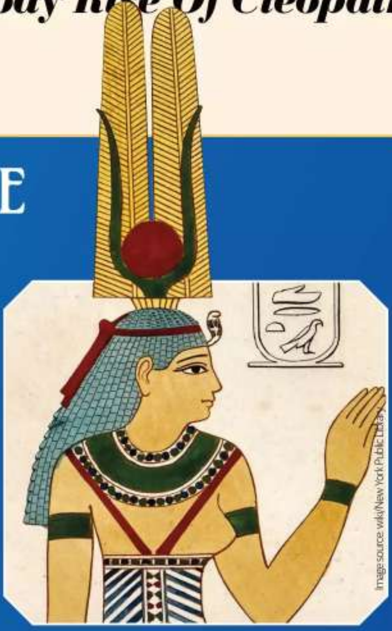


Image source: wiki/New York Public Library

CLEOPATRA III

c.160-101 BCE

The daughter of Cleopatra II got caught up in the machinations of her father and uncle, ultimately having to marry her uncle (also now her stepfather). She sided with her husband when a schism of support emerged in Egypt and retreated to Cyprus. After their return, Cleopatra III acted as co-ruler with a succession of male pharaohs from 116 to 101 BCE.

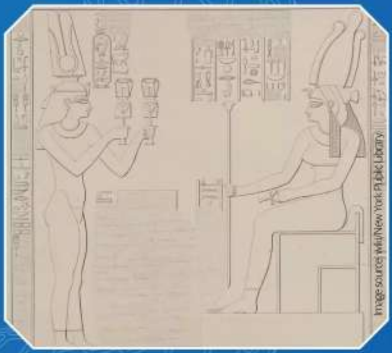


Image source: wiki/New York Public Library

CLEOPATRA IV

c.140-112 BCE

Originally married to her brother Ptolemy IX Philometor Soter II, their mother Cleopatra III forced a divorce when they began to agitate for their mother's overthrow. Cleopatra IV raised an army and offered it to her cousin Antiochus IX Cyzicenus in exchange for his support. She became trapped in Antioch in the ensuing conflict and was executed.

Image source: wiki/Cocoi

CLEOPATRA V

c.95-57 BCE

The illegitimate daughter of Ptolemy IX Philometor, she married her (also illegitimate) brother Ptolemy XII Auletes in order to bolster their joint claim to the throne in 80 BCE. They depended heavily on the support of Rome in order to maintain their influence. Further facts on Cleopatra V are limited, but she is likely to have been the mother of Cleopatra VII.

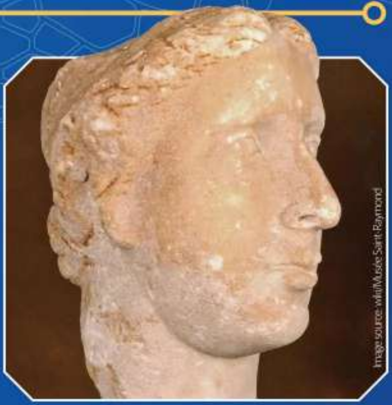


Image source: wiki/Musée Saint-Raymond

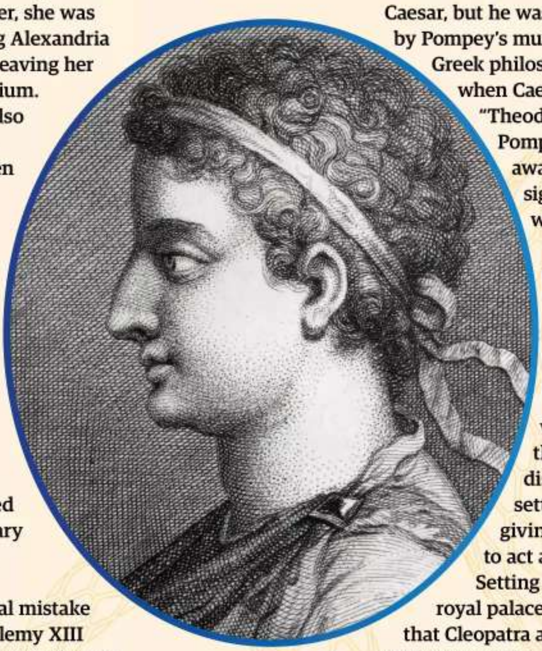
CLEOPATRA VI

c.95-55

The exact identity and lineage of Cleopatra VI is rather confused. It's possible that she was one of the daughters of Cleopatra V and Ptolemy XII Auletes alongside Cleopatra VII and ruled alongside another sister named Berenice IV. It's also been argued that Cleopatra V and VI were the same person. Her true identity is unfortunately lost.

year, she had fled to Syria with her half-sister, Arsinoe IV, where she gathered an army of mercenaries and plotted to invade Egypt. However, she was prevented from reaching Alexandria by her brother's forces, leaving her outside the city of Pelusium.

Amid this, there was also a civil war raging in the Roman Republic between Julius Caesar and his former ally, Pompey, sparked by the Roman senate's rising alarm regarding Caesar's growing power. In 48 BCE, Pompey and his army were defeated by Caesar at the Battle of Pharsalus in Greece. Having enjoyed a good relationship with Ptolemy XII, Pompey fled to Egypt to seek sanctuary with the late king's son, Ptolemy XIII.

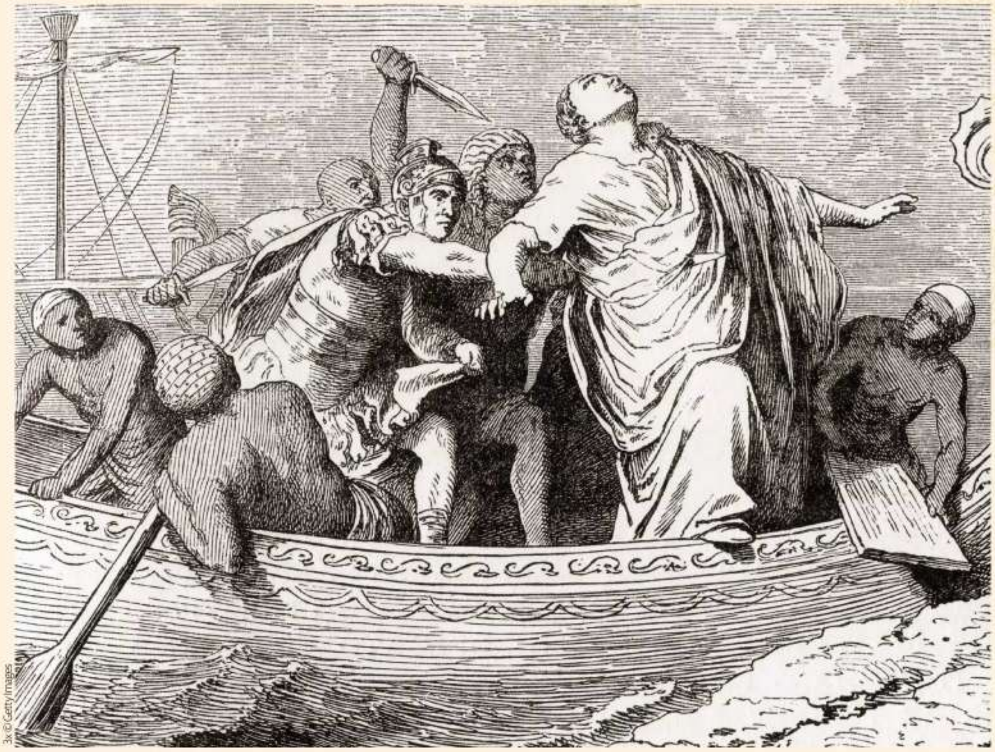


ABOVE A portrait of Cleopatra's brother, husband and co-ruler, Ptolemy XIII

This proved to be a fatal mistake for Pompey because Ptolemy XIII and his advisors saw his arrival as an opportunity to get into Caesar's good books. As Pompey prepared to step ashore at Pelusium he was stabbed to death by Ptolemy XIII's men, his head was severed and his body thrown into the sea. The king and his advisors had ordered the assassination to please Caesar, but he was reportedly repulsed by Pompey's murder. According to Greek philosopher Plutarch, when Caesar arrived in Egypt "Theodotus came to him with Pompey's head, he turned away; he took up the man's signet ring instead, and wept for him".

Although he had turned up in Egypt to chase Pompey, Caesar quickly found himself caught up in the feud between the Ptolemaic siblings. Their father's will had stated that if there were any dynastic disputes they should be settled by Rome, thereby giving Caesar the authority to act as a mediator.

Setting himself up in the royal palace, Caesar demanded that Cleopatra and Ptolemy XIII set aside their differences and reconcile. Ultimately, the biggest concern for Rome was to maintain control over Egypt's resources, especially its grain, which was used to feed the Roman army. At the end of the day, it did not matter to the Romans who sat on the throne. Caesar was also eager to get the money that the late Ptolemy XII owed to Rome but Pothinus resisted, wanting the Roman to leave Alexandria.



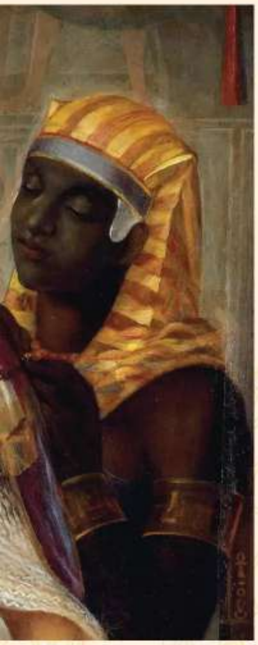
ABOVE The murder of Pompey by Ptolemy XIII's men

3x © Getty Images

Meanwhile, Cleopatra knew that Caesar was the man who had the power to help her regain her throne from her brother once and for all, but she could not get to him. Not only was her brother's army preventing her from returning to Alexandria, but even if she managed to reach the palace, she would be instantly recognised by her enemies.

To solve this problem, Plutarch claims that Cleopatra snuck into the city and the palace with the help of her loyal follower, Apollodorus of Sicily. He states that "she got into one of those sacks that are used for bedclothes and stretched herself out full length. Apollodorus rolled up the sack, fastened it with a strap, and brought it in through the doors to Caesar". When she revealed herself, Caesar was reportedly left captivated by her "charm and grace".

As iconic as this scene is in popular culture, there is no evidence to prove that Cleopatra ever wrapped herself up in a sack to sneak in and present herself to Caesar. It is often assumed that Cleopatra, frequently depicted as a scheming seductress, captivated Caesar and seduced him to join her cause because this is what the Roman propaganda wants us to believe. However, it is important to note



LEFT Cleopatra was the last of the Macedonians to rule in Egypt

RIGHT The first meeting between Cleopatra and Caesar has been frequently depicted through the ages

that Cleopatra was only 22 years old at this point, while Caesar was 52 and far more experienced - we can't say for certain that it was the queen who did the seducing.

How their relationship began might not be clear, but Cleopatra certainly won Caesar over to her side with her charisma. When Ptolemy XIII arrived at the palace to speak with Caesar the next morning, he was enraged to discover that not only had Cleopatra managed to enter Alexandria and the palace, but she had successfully become Caesar's lover.

Angered, Ptolemy XIII and his advisors decided to go to war against Cleopatra and Caesar, with conflict breaking out between the Egyptian army, led by Achillas, and the Roman forces. In the ensuing Siege of Alexandria, Cleopatra and Caesar spent the winter besieged at the palace as the latter did not have enough men to fight their rivals, although they managed to have Pothinus assassinated. It has been suggested that it was during this conflict that part of the library of Alexandria may have been burned down.

Meanwhile Arsinoe IV - who had previously fled into exile with Cleopatra - decided to escape from the palace and join Achillas' forces, declaring herself as queen and supplanting her sister. Proving to be as ruthless as the rest of her family, Arsinoe IV had Achillas killed and replaced him with her tutor, Ganymedes. As supplies to the palace were running out, Caesar requested reinforcements

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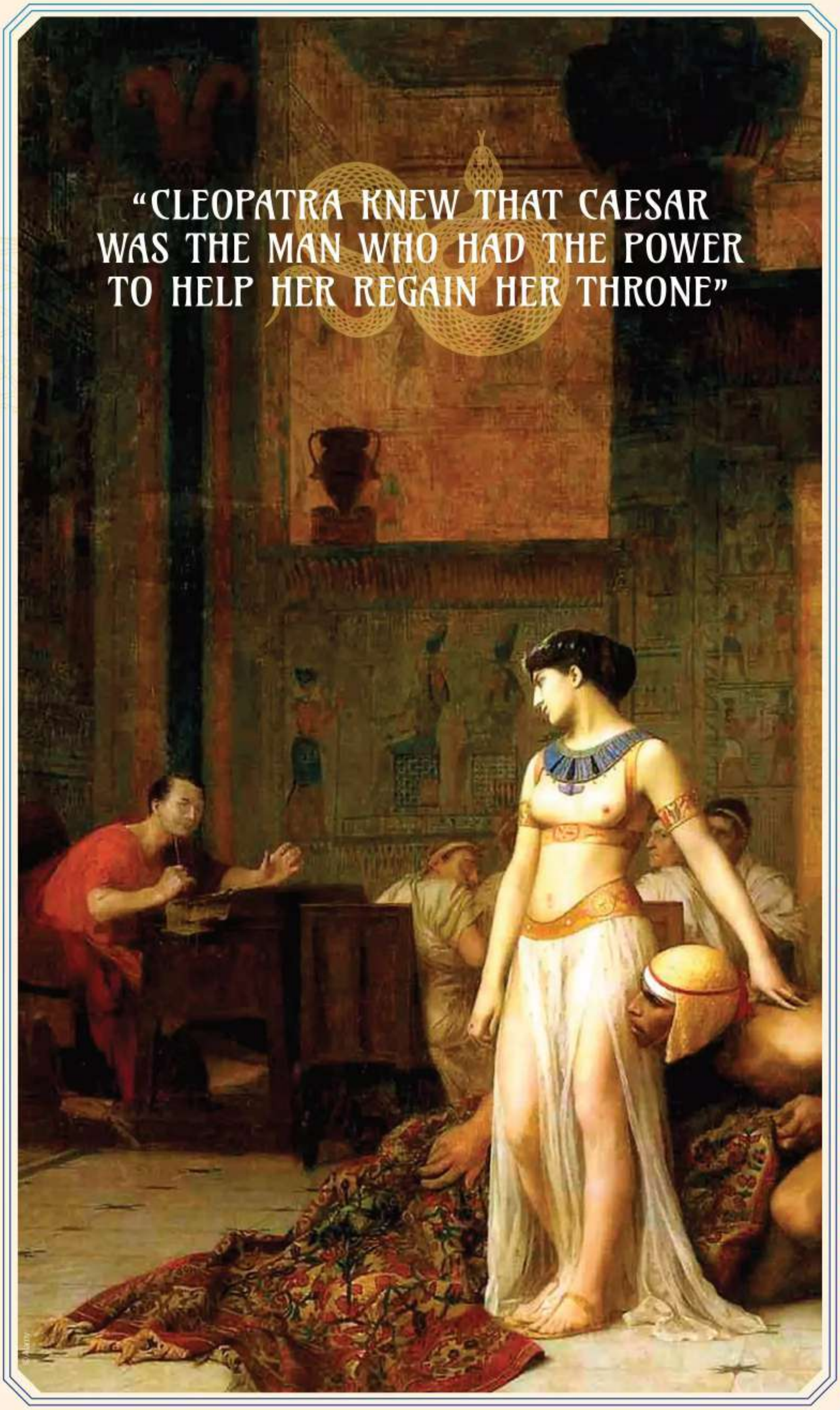


“CLEOPATRA KNEW THAT CAESAR WAS THE MAN WHO HAD THE POWER TO HELP HER REGAIN HER THRONE” from Mithridates of Pergamon, who arrived in spring 47 BCE and managed to break through the Egyptian army lines.

Caesar subsequently left the palace and led the Roman forces against Ptolemy XIII and the Egyptians at the Battle of the Nile. It was a decisive victory for Caesar, with Ptolemy XIII ultimately drowning in the river, supposedly when his boat capsized. Arsinoe IV was captured and sent to Rome, where she had to suffer the humiliation of taking part in Caesar's triumph to celebrate his victory. Despite this, he chose to spare Arsinoe's life and she sought sanctuary at the Temple of Artemis in the Greek city of Ephesus.

Cleopatra was noticeably absent while Caesar dispatched with their enemies at the Nile, most likely because she was pregnant with his child. It is alleged that the couple went on a luxurious cruise down the Nile to commemorate their resounding victory and Cleopatra later gave birth to their son Caesarion - also known as 'Little Caesar' - in June 47 BCE. In keeping with the tradition of sibling co-rulers, Cleopatra married her other brother, 12-year-old Ptolemy XIV, who was appointed as her co-ruler. Nonetheless, true power very much lay with the queen.

Now that the matter of the Egyptian throne was finally settled, it was time for Caesar to return to Rome, although he left some men behind to ensure that Cleopatra's position remained secure. Yet it wasn't long before Cleopatra left Egypt to join Caesar at his request, arriving in Rome accompanied by Ptolemy XIV in 46 BCE, where she would stay for the next two years.

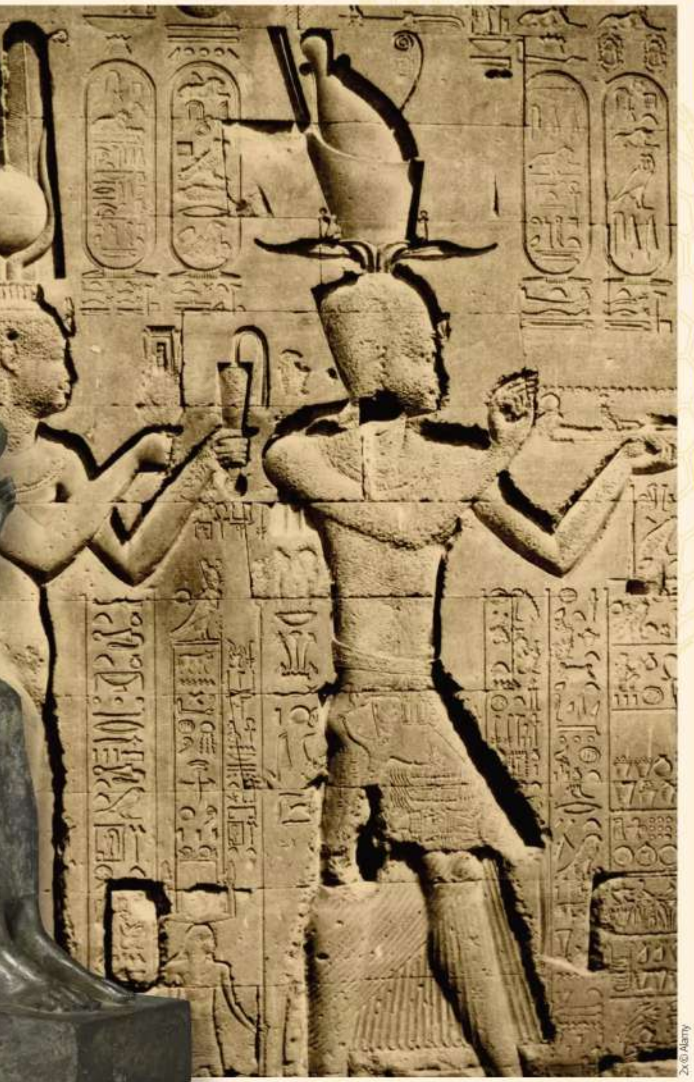
For the Romans, Cleopatra's affair with Caesar was nothing short of scandalous, especially as he already had a wife, Calpurnia. To make matters worse Cleopatra, as a monarch, was the physical embodiment of everything that the Roman Republic had feared - especially as there were concerns regarding Caesar's increasingly evident ambition to rule. It is no wonder that Cicero, one of the republic's most powerful statesmen, famously declared: "I can't stand the queen."

Cleopatra had aligned herself with Caesar because she knew that he had the power to both restore her to the throne and to keep her there - but it was precisely this power that would be his undoing. After being named 'dictator for life', Caesar's authoritarian dreams came to a brutal end when he was assassinated

BELOW-LEFT Isis was one of the most important goddesses of ancient Egypt

BELOW-RIGHT Bas-reliefs of Cleopatra and her son and co-ruler, Caesarion, at the Temple of Hathor

Image source wiki/ Walters Art Museum



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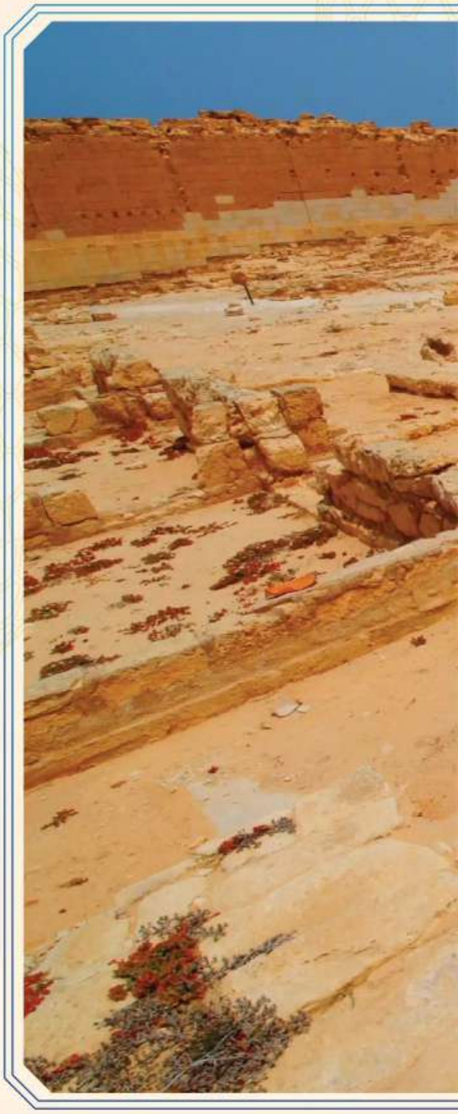


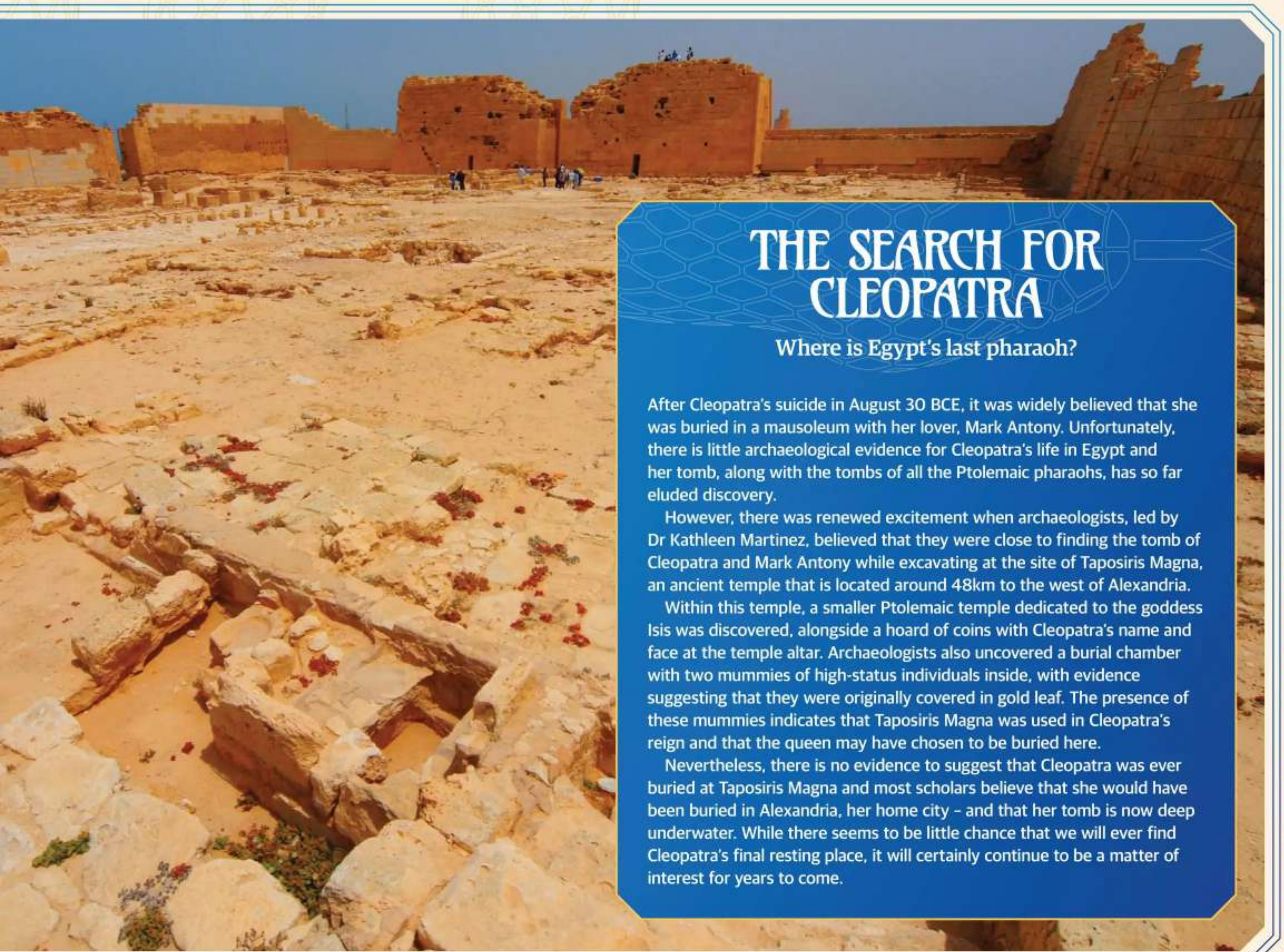
> “TO MAKE MATTERS WORSE CLEOPATRA, AS A MONARCH, WAS THE PHYSICAL EMBODIMENT OF EVERYTHING THAT THE ROMAN REPUBLIC HAD FEARED”

on the Ides of March in 44 BCE, a group of about 60 conspirators stabbing him to death in cold blood.

Even though her lover and protector was gone, Cleopatra initially stayed in Rome with the hope of having Caesarion accepted as Caesar's legitimate heir. When this failed, she returned to Egypt with Ptolemy XIV, who mysteriously died shortly afterwards. The most likely explanation is that he was murdered on Cleopatra's orders to make way for her three-year-old son to become her new co-ruler as Ptolemy XV Caesarion.

After seven tumultuous years, Cleopatra could finally rule her kingdom without having to look over her shoulder, waiting for her family to strike. Her only sibling that remained alive, Arsinoe IV, would eventually be assassinated at the queen's request, securing Cleopatra's position on the Egyptian throne once and for all. It was another example of her ruthlessness, but she had to be ruthless in order to survive the reality in which she lived.

Cleopatra's rise to power was indeed bloody but she tried her best to rule Egypt, with many of her accomplishments overshadowed by the propaganda that was churned out by the Romans, who despised her. However, Cleopatra's intelligence and ability to rule were celebrated by her contemporaries in Egypt and various medieval Islamic and Arabic sources. Constantly aware that Egypt was at risk of being attacked and annexed by Rome, Cleopatra was eventually forced to seek out a new protector after Caesar's demise, setting the stage for her ill-fated relationship with another powerful Roman general - Mark Antony. ○



THE SEARCH FOR CLEOPATRA

Where is Egypt's last pharaoh?

After Cleopatra's suicide in August 30 BCE, it was widely believed that she was buried in a mausoleum with her lover, Mark Antony. Unfortunately, there is little archaeological evidence for Cleopatra's life in Egypt and her tomb, along with the tombs of all the Ptolemaic pharaohs, has so far eluded discovery.

However, there was renewed excitement when archaeologists, led by Dr Kathleen Martinez, believed that they were close to finding the tomb of Cleopatra and Mark Antony while excavating at the site of Taposiris Magna, an ancient temple that is located around 48km to the west of Alexandria.

Within this temple, a smaller Ptolemaic temple dedicated to the goddess Isis was discovered, alongside a hoard of coins with Cleopatra's name and face at the temple altar. Archaeologists also uncovered a burial chamber with two mummies of high-status individuals inside, with evidence suggesting that they were originally covered in gold leaf. The presence of these mummies indicates that Taposiris Magna was used in Cleopatra's reign and that the queen may have chosen to be buried here.

Nevertheless, there is no evidence to suggest that Cleopatra was ever buried at Taposiris Magna and most scholars believe that she would have been buried in Alexandria, her home city - and that her tomb is now deep underwater. While there seems to be little chance that we will ever find Cleopatra's final resting place, it will certainly continue to be a matter of interest for years to come.

Heroes of War

Revealing the untold stories of the
First and Second World Wars that you have to know

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Revealing five of the most ambitious missions of World War II

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How their experiences on the bloody battlefields paved the way for independence

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The brave volunteers from Africa and the Caribbean who joined the RAF in WWII

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We explore the horrors and heroics that took place beyond the Western Front

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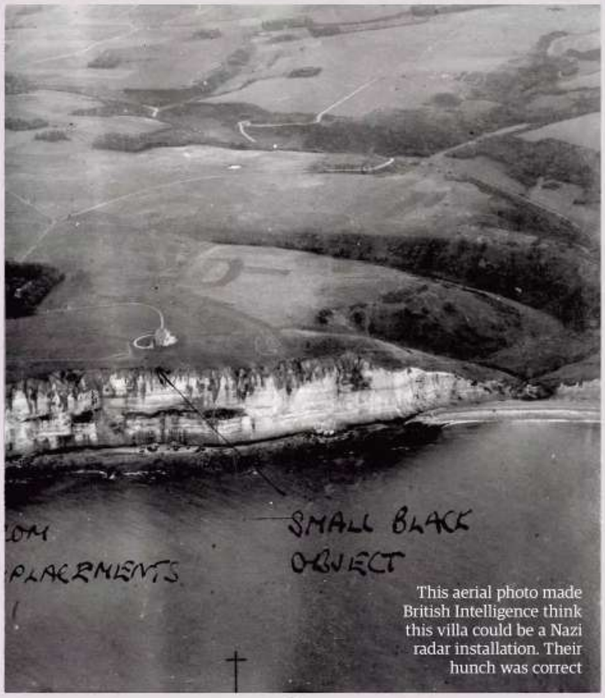
MOST DARING

WWII MISSIONS

Uncovering five of the most ambitious and inventive missions of World War II, from experimental submarines to diversionary corpses

Written by Callum McKelvie and Jonathan Gordon
Based on the work of Mark Dunton, Chris Ransted, Neil Cobbett and Stephen Twigge



This aerial photo made British Intelligence think this villa could be a Nazi radar installation. Their hunch was correct

Several German soldiers were captured, giving the Allies vital intel that helped them evade German radar in future

OPERATION BITING

LOCATION:
Bruneval, France
DATE:
27-28 February 1942
INVOLVED:
2nd Parachute Battalion, 1st Airborne Division

AUDACITY RATING:
3/5

WHAT: A raid on a villa in France that housed a German radar installation

WHY: To capture radar components for analysis and the development of potential countermeasures

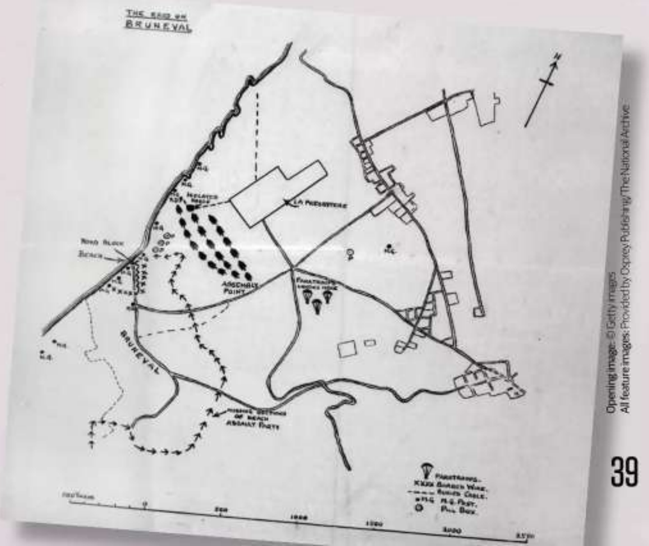
HOW: Having suffered heavy losses of RAF bombers since the Battle of Britain it was determined that the German radar system in Europe, known as Freya, needed to be counteracted. To do this scientists would need components from the short-range Würzburg radar technology. Reconnaissance imagery of cliffs near Bruneval, France revealed a villa that excited the interest of British Intelligence. A single black object in front of the villa could be evidence of a radar installation, so a plan was put in motion.

The newly formed 1st Airborne Division was identified as the best means of raiding the villa, since Germany's coastal defences made a naval incursion much harder. The combined operation would involve some 120 men parachuting in, dividing up to take the installation and secure the beach, and then rendezvous to escape via landing craft waiting for them. Among their number was radar operator RAF Flight Sergeant CWH Cox, who had to undergo intensive parachute training just for this mission.

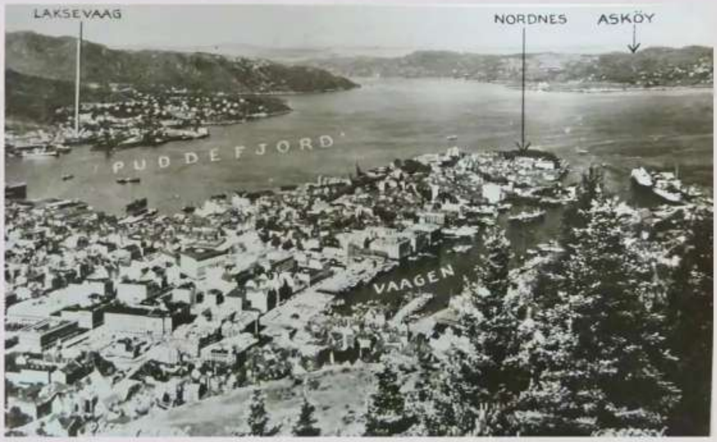
Despite some setbacks and snow-covered terrain, Operation Biting was a huge success. The main force managed to secure the villa and retrieve the radar equipment with minimal casualties. A German radar operator was also captured, giving British Intelligence vital insight into the devices. Some of the beach clearing team missed their drop zone and were late arriving, meaning the beach was not clear when the rest of the team met up again, but their full force was able break through and reach awaiting gunboats to return home.

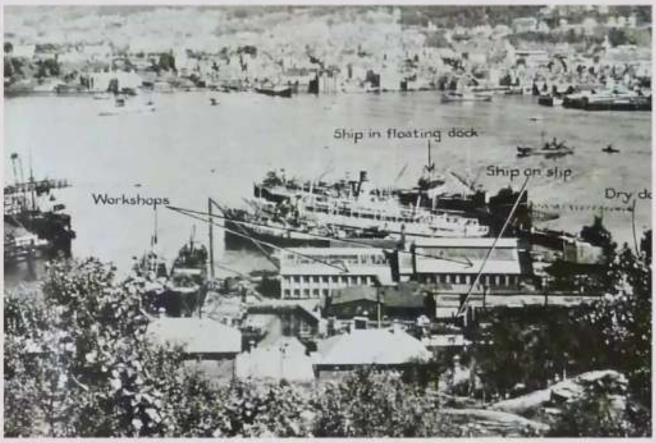
Thanks to the success of the raid a countermeasure called 'window' was developed that involved dropping aluminium strips that could confuse the German radar and make clear identification of targets more difficult.

RIGHT This map of the Bruneval raid shows the parachute drop site, a likely barbed wire position and a pill box the team would need to be aware of



Opening image: © Getty Images
All feature images: Provided by Osprey Publishing/The National Archive





OPERATION BARBARA

WHAT: A plan to destroy floating docks for German ships and U-boats at Laksevåg

WHY: Bergen had become a growing port for German forces and its elimination would be highly advantageous to Allied naval forces

HOW: The most notable thing about this cross-department operation between the SOE, Royal Navy and Norwegian Royal Navy was the use of the Welman, a brand new single-seater submersible. The plan was to send a small team of Welman craft to attach explosives to the floating docks of Laksevåg and destroy them, greatly disrupting U-boat operations from Bergen as a result.

The Welman was an inventive new craft developed out of SOE's top-secret facility, Station IX, capable of travelling 30 miles at depths up to 100ft for up to ten hours. They needed to be placed in position by motor torpedo boats (MTB), which the Norwegians had already been working with out of the Shetlands. At only 20ft long, it was hoped these mini-subs could slip in and out undetected.

The vessels had no shortage of issues, however. With no periscope the craft used a gyro-compass for navigation that needed checking every hour. Practice runs placing dummy charges on the HMS Howe and Titania had been successful, but training had seen two near misses for Lt Bjørn Pedersen and Lt Basil Marris. The mission was risky, navigation difficult and the conditions on the day wouldn't help.

Arriving at the entrance of the fjord at Solsviksund, the plan had been to hide the craft up river until the next day, but they were spotted by Norwegian fishermen amid heavier than expected traffic in the area and plans were moved up. Lt Pedersen led the convoy at 15 minute intervals, attempting to navigate to the docks, but rain and fog made navigation challenging. Hoping to avoid detection he submerged for a period, but upon resurfacing couldn't confirm his exact location. Opening his hatch for a better look, he was spotted by a minesweeper and forced to surrender as they fired warning shots, puncturing the Welman.

Hearing the gunfire the others turned around and aborted the mission. They went into hiding with the protection of the Norwegian resistance for three months, while Pedersen remained a POW for the remainder of the war.

LOCATION:
Bergen, Norway
DATE:
21-22 November 1943
INVOLVED:
SOE, Royal Navy, Norwegian Royal Navy

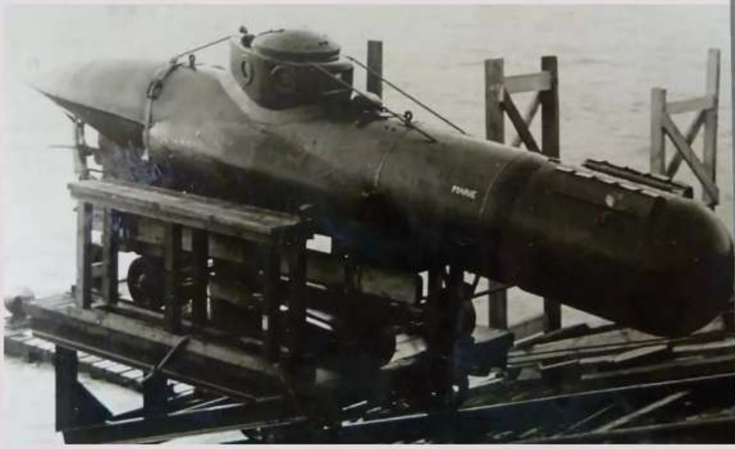
AUDACITY RATING:
4/5

ABOVE-LEFT A photograph of the target area marked the floating docks to be taken out

ABOVE-RIGHT This annotated photograph gives more detail about the target's key locations

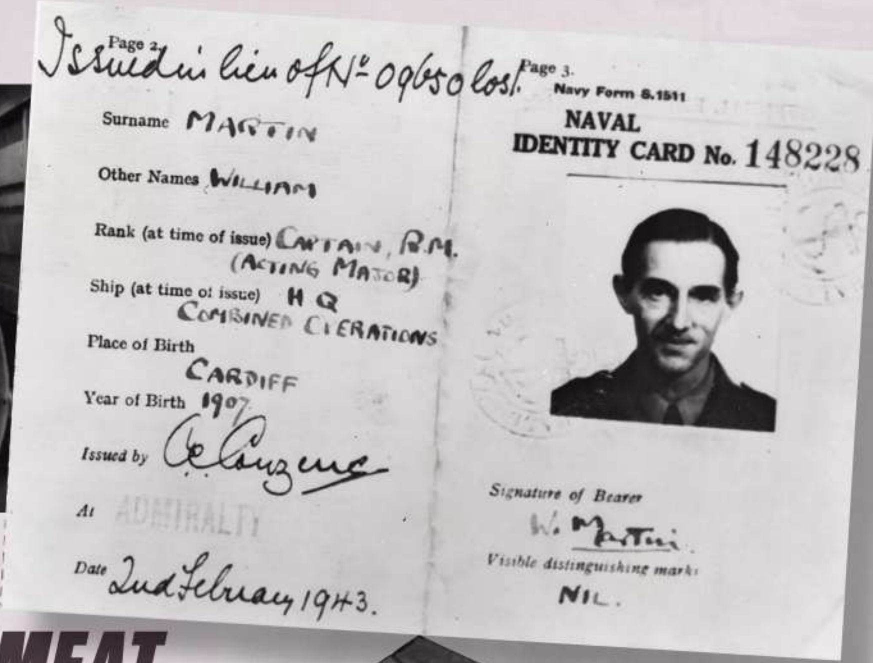
RIGHT The Welman sub was tested in a number of places, like the Queen Mary Reservoir in Surrey

FAR-RIGHT The first Welman operator, Bjørn Pedersen, was taken prisoner for the rest of the war



SPECIAL F.O.S. SHIPMENT

Prior to the operation commencing, the body was transported in this canister



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Page 2.

Surname MARTIN

Other Names WILLIAM

Rank (at time of issue) CAPTAIN, R.M. (ACTING MAJOR)

Ship (at time of issue) H Q COMBINED OPERATIONS

Place of Birth CARDIFF

Year of Birth 1907

Issued by

At ADMIRALTY

Date 2nd February 1943.

Page 3.

Navy Form S.1511

NAVAL IDENTITY CARD No. 148228

Signature of Bearer W. Martin

Visible distinguishing marks NIL.

OPERATION MINCEMEAT

LOCATION:
Spain
DATE:
April 1943
INVOLVED:
MI5, Naval Intelligence

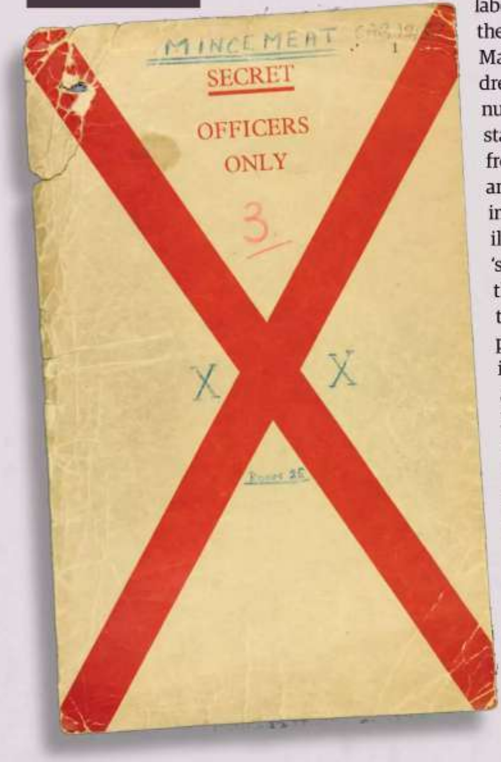
AUDACITY RATING:

4/5

WHAT: A plan to deceive German forces as to the nature of Allied attacks in the Mediterranean.

WHY: In the run-up to the Allied offensive on Sicily it became necessary for a campaign of misdirection, providing false information as to the nature of the oncoming assault so that the true targets of the attacks would remain a secret.

HOW: 'Mincemeat' was devised to convince the Germans that the Allies main assault in the Mediterranean would be through the Balkans instead of the real objective, Sicily. The operation was originally conceived by 25-year-old Charles Cholmondeley and codenamed 'Operation: Trojan Horse'. It involved obtaining a recently deceased corpse from a hospital morgue, that of labourer Glyndwr Michael. Given the false identity of Royal Marine Major Martin, the cadaver was dressed in military uniform and numerous items (including a bank statement, theatre tickets, letter from a loved one and a receipt for an engagement ring) were placed in the pockets to further the illusion. Crucially, a case containing 'secret' British invasion plans for the Balkans was handcuffed to the corpse's arm. 'Maj' was then packed up safe and sound in dry ice, placed in an airtight container and loaded aboard the submarine HMS Seraph. In order to conceal the containers true contents 'Handle with Care – Optical Instruments' was stamped across the surface. Off the coast of the port city Huelva in Spain, 'Maj' was set adrift. The body was soon recovered by the Spanish authorities and sent to the German intelligence for investigation. Meanwhile, a fake obituary had been placed in *The Times* as well as arrangements for a grave at Huelva. Having copied the documents, German intelligence took care to make sure the case appeared undisturbed. The Spanish authorities then returned 'Maj' to the British admiralty, as if nothing had happened. The naval attache at Huelva then thanked them for keeping the documents secure, further persuading the Germans that the British suspected nothing. On 9 July 1943, Operation Husky, an amphibious assault by 180,000 Allied troops along 100 miles of coastline, began on Sicily and was met by just two German divisions. Meanwhile, forces stationed in the Balkans awaited an attack that never came.



MINCEMEAT

SECRET

OFFICERS ONLY

3

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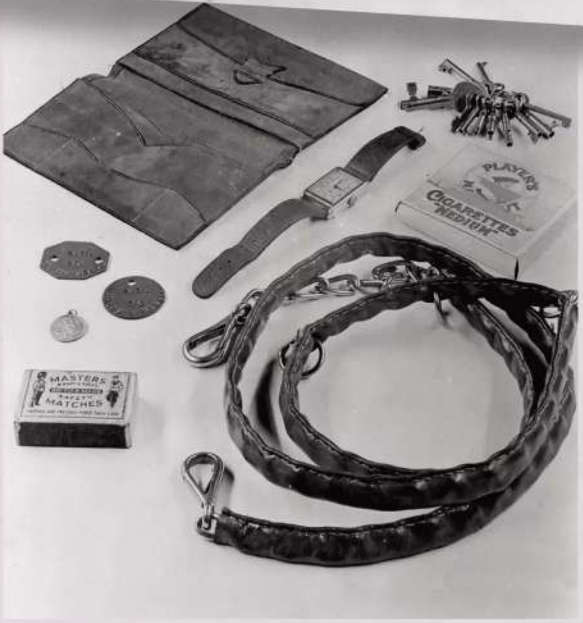
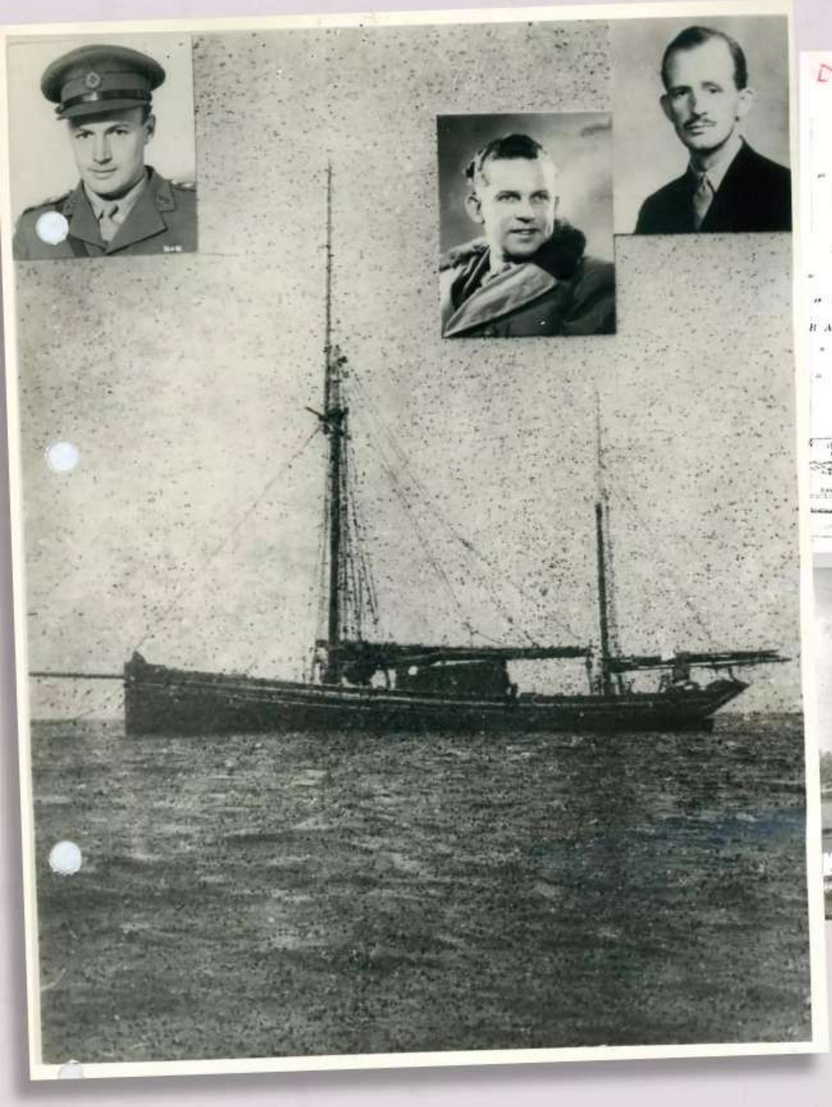
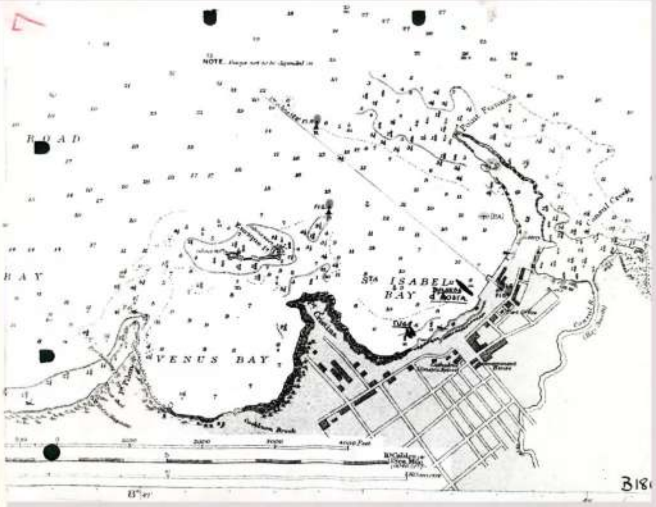


LEFT This is what the official file for Operation Mincemeat looked like

TOP Official documents were prepared for the fictitious major, including this naval identity card

ABOVE A number of personal items, seen here, were placed on the body to make their identity as convincing as possible





LEFT The trawler, Maid Honor, with images of Maj John Appleyard (left), Frenchman André Desgranges (centre) and Capt Gus March-Phillipps (right)

TOP This map of the bay includes the location of the Italian cargo liner the Duchessa d'Aosta

ABOVE An aerial shot of Customs House, Santa Isabel harbour where German vessels had been spotted

OPERATION POSTMASTER

WHAT: A plan to take three vessels from the port of Santa Isabel

WHY: In 1941 the British Admiralty received reports that German U-Boats were refuelling in the rivers of Vichy French Africa. Despite finding nothing, SOE decided to leave a small force to observe French, Spanish and Portuguese territories and to hinder any attacks on British colonies. It was then that three vessels were sighted in the Spanish port of Santa Isabel, including the Italian merchant vessel Duchessa d'Aosta, the German tug Likomba and the barge Bibundi. These vessels were perceived as a threat due to the presence of a working radio (which could inform the Axis powers of British shipping movements) and the refusal of one to declare all it's cargo, suggesting it was carrying arms. The ships would need to be seized but due to the neutrality of the Spanish government, British involvement could not be suspected.

HOW: SOE Agent Richard Lippett secured a job with the shipping company John Holt & Co, and on discovering that the crew of the Duchessa enjoyed the odd beverage or 50, adopted the guise of a party-goer. Invited to an onboard party on the 6 January 1942, he was able to determine the readiness of the ships for sea, crew numbers and watch arrangements. On 11 January the raiders left Lagos in two tugs and headed for Santa Isabel. Lippett then arranged for the three ships officers to attend a dinner party ashore, while the governor was distracted by means of a 'honey trap'. At 23:30 the raid began as the tugs approached the ships. As they came closer the crews became suspicious, but it was too late – canoe raiding parties had already boarded. The crews were taken prisoner and explosive charges detonated on the anchor chains. The tugs then began to tow the ships out of the harbour. Miraculously, it was believed that the sounds of the explosions were the result of an air-raid and anti-aircraft guns opened fire on imaginary attackers. The raid lasted 30 minutes. The next day the ships were 'captured' by the HMS Violet and British involvement, although suspected, was instead covered up by the story of a fake mutiny.

LOCATION:
Santa Isabel, West Africa
DATE:
14 January 1942
INVOLVED:
SOE, Small Scale Raiding Force (SSRF)

AUDACITY RATING:
5/5

THE ABDUCTION OF GENERAL KREIPE

LOCATION:
Crete
DATE:
6 February – 14 May 1944
INVOLVED:
SOE, Cretan Resistance

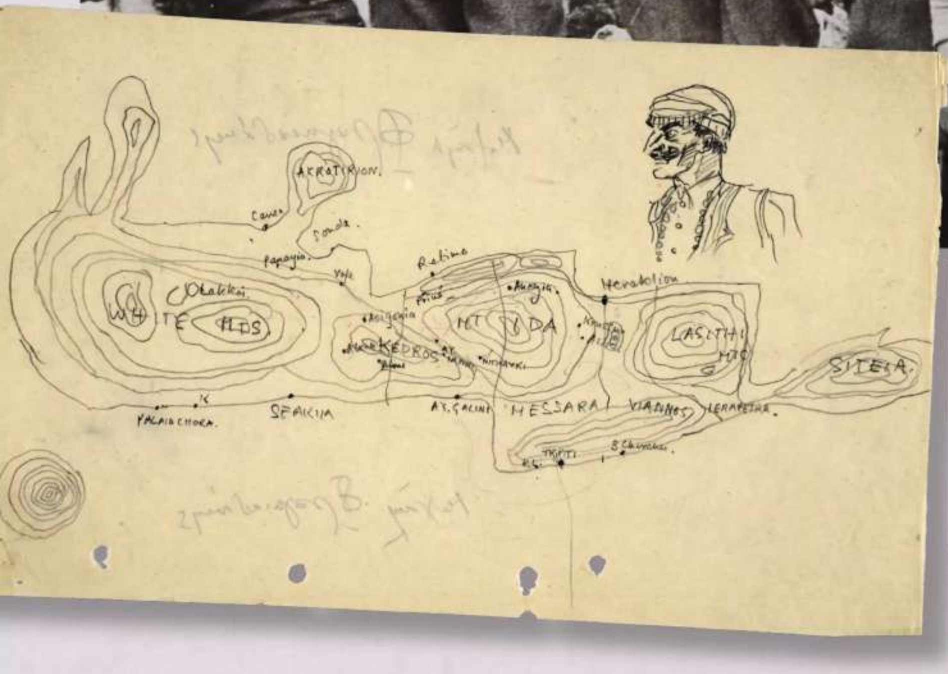
AUDACITY RATING:
3/5

WHAT: The kidnapping of a German general in Crete

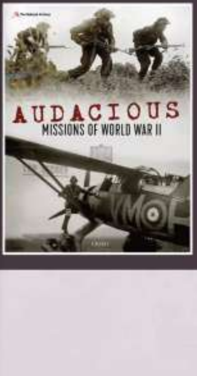
WHY: British agents in Crete had considered the kidnapping of a senior German officer for several years. Given that there was no intent to launch an Allied attack on the island, a stunt was deemed necessary to boost morale. It was also thought that having a key figure simply disappear overnight would be a humiliating blow to the German forces. After Italy's yielding to the Allies in 1943, Italian commanders in Crete had suddenly found themselves placed in positions of extreme danger. General Angelico Carta, concerned with his own wellbeing, sought to surrender and was spirited away by SOE officers to North Africa. The groundwork having been laid, plans were put in place for the removal of a – less willing – German officer.

HOW: The target chosen was one General Kreipe who, ironically, took residence in the village of Knossos, the supposed habitat of the mythical Minotaur. On the 4 February 1944 three SOE agents attempted to parachute but only Major Leigh-Fermor was able to land successfully. Meeting with a group from the Cretan resistance, he remained with them until he was joined by the rest of his team on 4 April. After several weeks of reconnaissance (involving Leigh-Fermor disguising himself as a shepherd in order to travel by bus and view the German base) it was decided that the German base was too strongly fortified for a kidnap attempt to succeed. An alternative plan would have to be made. On 26 April, the general's car was stopped at a routine checkpoint by two members of the German military police, who were in fact Leigh-Fermor and an accomplice in disguise. The driver was struck by a cosh and the kidnappers drove the car away. Through 22 German roadblocks, the general was held down in the back seat as Leigh-Fermor impersonated him. Crossing the island, the team was then transported by boat to Egypt. Unfortunately, upon hearing of their general's kidnapping many German troops on Crete celebrated – he was not a popular man. Kreipe met his kidnappers one final time in 1972 as part of a Greek television show.

LEFT The SOE team who managed to capture Gen Heinrich Kreipe, with Billie Moss and Paddy Leigh-Fermor in German uniforms



BELOW-LEFT A sketched map drawn up by the SOE, which includes a drawing of Leigh-Fermor possibly in the shepherd disguise he used to travel around undetected



This feature is based on The National Archive research and materials depicted in ***Audacious Missions of World War II***, available now from Osprey Publishing, written by Mark Dunton, Chris Ransted, Neil Cobbett, Stephen Twigge, Timothy Cross, Juliette Desplat, George Hay and Ela Kaczmarska

INDIAN ARMY AT WAR

How the Indian Army's experiences on the bloody battlefields of the First World War helped pave the way for independence

Written by Mark Simner

The British-Indian Army of 1914-18 was unlike most armies of the First World War. It was hugely diverse, including Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs, Buddhists, Christians, Jews, Zoroastrians and pagans. The official language of the Indian Army was Hindustani, but such a mix of peoples inevitably led to a myriad of languages spoken by its soldiers, such as Hindi, Urdu, Punjabi, Pushtu, Dari, Bengali, Tamil, Burmese and Nepali. It reflected the Indian Empire of the time, which included not only India but also modern-day Pakistan, Bangladesh, Myanmar, Bhutan and Nepal.

Upon the outbreak of the First World War, the Indian Army comprised of 240,000 Indian troops, including combatants and non-combatants, and around 77,000 British. By the time the war ended, some 1.5 million Indians had served, of which over a million had been deployed overseas. Given its size it is remarkable the Indian Army was an entirely volunteer force, the Indian Government never introducing conscription (although it was briefly considered). Nevertheless, the number of men recruited in comparison to India's population of over 315 million (according to the 1911 Indian Census) was in fact tiny.

Most Indian troops in 1914 were excited to serve abroad, lured by desire to visit vilayet (foreign lands). However, many believed they were going to serve in relative safety in other parts of the British Empire and would return home after a short time. In fact, they were about to be thrown into the bloody battles of the Western Front.

BAPTISM OF FIRE

Leading elements of Indian Expeditionary Force A, also referred to as the Indian Corps, made ready to depart India for France in August 1914. They arrived in Marseilles the following month to cries of 'Vive les Hindoues' and 'Les Hindoues' from jubilant French crowds. The Indian Corps initially consisted of British and Indian troops from the 3rd (Lahore) and the 7th (Meerut) Infantry Divisions, and the 9th (Secunderabad) Cavalry Brigade, as well as engineers and artillery. Thus, the Indian

The cold conditions presented another challenge for the Indian soldiers

Two soldiers enjoy a lighter moment during a break from the brutal trench warfare

2x © Getty Images

© Alamy

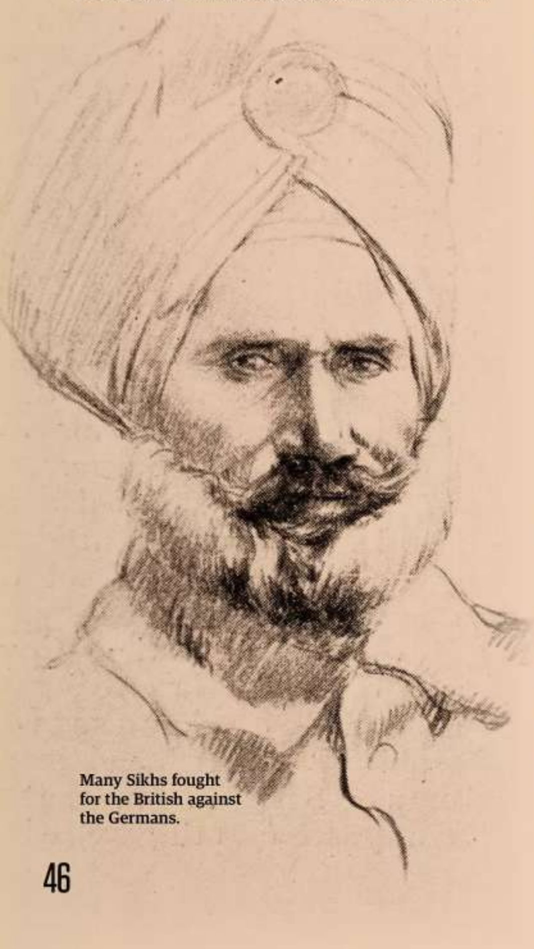
Army was earmarked for overseas war service from the very start.

As had long been the tradition in the Indian Army, the senior officers of Indian regiments were British, while the VCOs (Viceroy's Commissioned Officers), NCOs and men were Indian. At the beginning of the war, the Indian soldiers were hampered by lack of equipment and their unfamiliarity with it. For example, the Indian Corps lacked effective artillery guns and were only issued with new MK III Lee Enfield rifles and Vickers Machine guns upon arrival in France. The Indian troops also suffered from the cold European weather, which they were unaccustomed to.

Their baptism of fire on the Western Front came during the battles of La Bassée, Messines and Armentières in October 1914. It would be during this period that the first Victoria Cross was awarded to an Indian soldier. The recipient was a Muslim sepoy (soldier) called Khudadad Khan, a machine gunner in the 129th Baluchis. His citation, published in the *London Gazette* on 7 December 1914, starkly read: "On 31st October, 1914, at Hollebeke, Belgium, the British Officer in charge of the detachment having been wounded, and the other gun put out of action by a shell, Sepoy Khudadad, though himself wounded, remained working his gun until all the other five men of the gun detachment had been killed."

Khudadad was not the only Indian soldier to receive the VC for acts of valour on the Western Front. In November, Naik (corporal) Darwan Singh Negi of the 39th Garhwal Rifles, although twice wounded, displayed "conspicuous bravery" during the Defence of Festubert. He received his VC on the same day as Khudadad. During one of the Indian Corps' other notable battles, the Battle of Neuve Chapelle, Sepoy Gabar Singh Negi received a posthumous VC for leading a bayonet party in a German trench, during which he was killed. His widow proudly wore his VC until her own death in 1981. The first Nepalese Gurkha to receive the award was Sepoy Kulbir Thapa of the 3rd Gorkha Rifles for his actions during the bloody Battle of Loos.

A wounded Indian soldier is taken away for treatment



Many Sikhs fought for the British against the Germans.

"I SHOULD LIKE TO SEE THE LANCES OF THE BENGAL LANCERS FLUTTERING DOWN THE STREETS OF BERLIN"

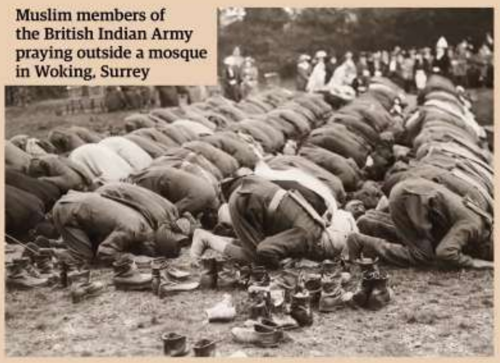
VICEROY LORD CURZON

By the end of 1915, Indian soldiers had experienced some of the most bitter fighting on the Western Front. Casualties were heavy, standing at 8,000 dead or missing and 14,000 wounded. However, the decision had been taken to withdraw the Indian Corps from France following criticism of its performance. This unexpected departure from France caused one disappointed Indian subadar (captain) to remark: "We came to defeat the King's enemies. They are not yet defeated."

DEFEAT AND VICTORY IN MESOPOTAMIA

The largest deployment of Indian troops outside India during the First World War was in Mesopotamia (modern-day Iraq). Known as Indian Expeditionary Force D, it was involved in several successful early actions against Ottoman forces. However, in late November 1915 the 6th (Poona) Division, under the command of General Charles Townshend, sustained heavy casualties at the Battle of Ctesiphon while advancing on Baghdad. Having failed to break through the Ottoman positions, Townshend decided to withdraw to Kut Al Amara, where he became besieged.

The Siege of Kut lasted from early December 1915 to late April 1916. During the siege, Townshend ordered several assaults against the Ottoman forces, but none succeeded. Essential supplies soon began to run out and deadly disease spread rapidly among the Indian ranks. So bad did the situation become that, on 29 April, Townshend surrendered his force of 13,300, including 7,200 Indian combatants and 3,250 non-combatants. It has been estimated that nearly 70% of Townshend's soldiers died while in captivity



Muslim members of the British Indian Army praying outside a mosque in Woking, Surrey

An Indian soldier uses a periscope to look at the German trenches

Sir Douglas Haig (second from right) introduces a British Indian Army officer to French general Joseph Joffre

IG INTRODUCING S PERTAB SINGH TO JOFFRE
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due to mistreatment. One Austrian officer present described seeing an army of British and Indian skeletons being driven along by Turkish rifle butts like "a scene from Dante's *Inferno*".

Although Kut was a major defeat, a British-Indian force under General Frederick Stanley Maude retook the city in February 1917, then captured Baghdad the next month. Following the Battle of Sharqat in October 1918, Ottoman forces surrendered and agreed the Armistice of Mudros. The campaign in Mesopotamia had been largely fought by the Indian Army in challenging conditions while lacking supplies and adequate medical care. In all, British-Indian forces suffered over 85,000 killed, wounded and captured in Mesopotamia. Many more died of disease.

Indian troops also served in East Africa, Palestine and Gallipoli, and it's estimated that around 74,000 died during the First World War, with a further 69,200 wounded. Eleven Victoria Crosses were awarded to Indian soldiers, a testament to their courage and determination in battle. Their contribution to the British war effort was considerable.

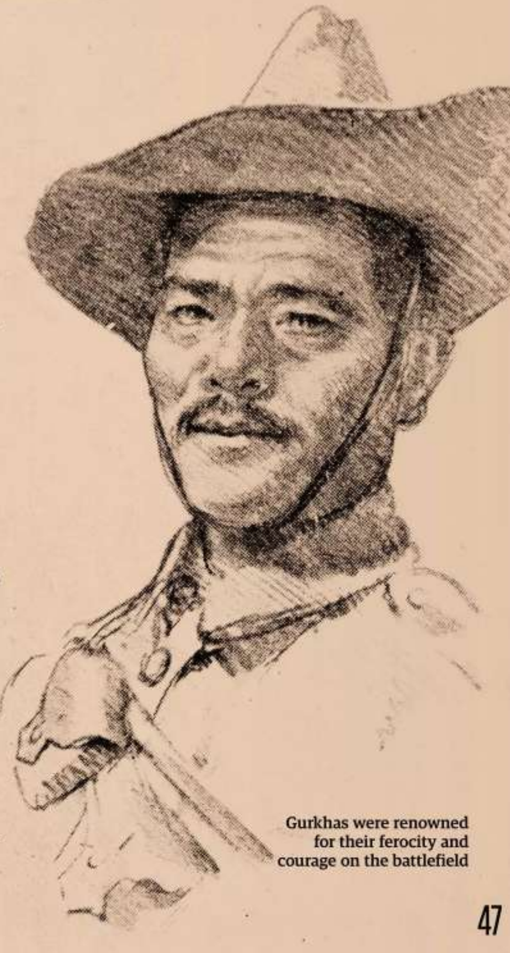
HOPES FOR INDEPENDENCE

When war broke out in 1914 there was a wave of enthusiastic loyalty from many educated Indians who were eager to support Britain. Such support came as a surprise to the British authorities, but it was not for love of Britain and its empire. Rather, it was partly due to anti-German propaganda the British had spread in the lead up to war and in part due to hopes India would be rewarded politically for its support. The elites of India also believed the presence of Indian troops fighting alongside their British counterparts would raise the status of Indians in the eyes of the British.

Even before the war ended, Indian nationalists were using India's considerable support for Britain and the loss of so many Indian lives in their argument for self-rule. Unsurprisingly, Britain didn't want to lose the jewel in the crown of its empire but the need for some form of recognition was clear. As such, the Government of India Act 1919 was passed, greatly increasing participation of Indians in governing the country. But for Indian nationalists this was simply not enough.

In the wake of the war, many Indian veterans returning to civilian life were no longer content being subordinate subjects of the British Empire. So it's unsurprising that this large pool of ex-soldiers became a prime recruitment ground for the Indian National Congress, which had come under Mahatma Gandhi's leadership in 1920. Demands for Indian Independence escalated and active measures such as Gandhi's Non-Cooperation Movement attracted increasing support.

With another war looming in the 1930s, opposition to the loss of more Indian lives for little tangible return led to renewed efforts for independence in the form of the Quit India Movement. In 1947 India left the British Empire and became independent, albeit suffering a tragic partition in the process. Although dreams of independence long predate 1914, the origins of an independence movement that finally succeeded can be traced back to the First World War. ○



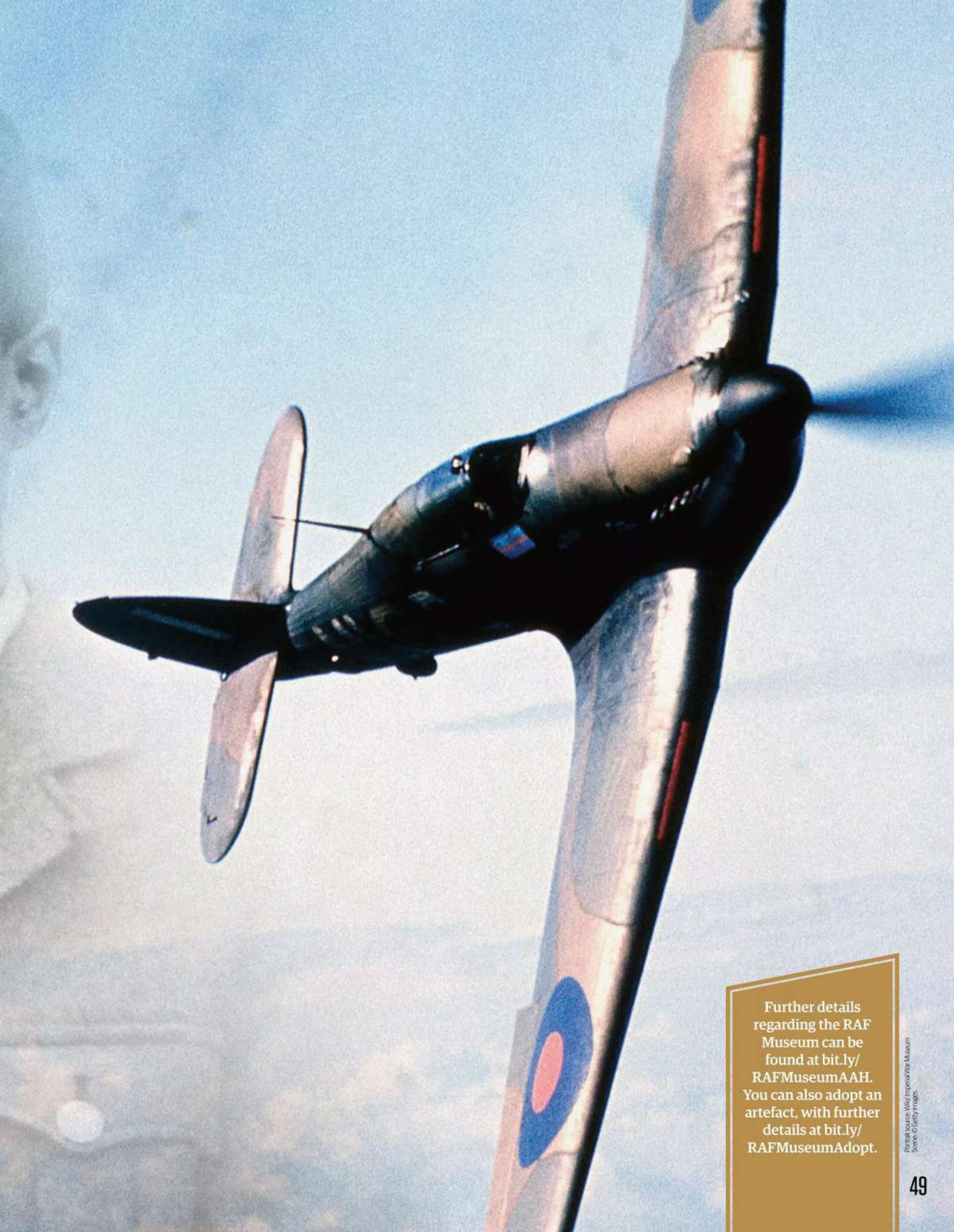
Gurkhas were renowned for their ferocity and courage on the battlefield

Pilots of the Caribbean

During World War II, a group of brave volunteers from Africa and the Caribbean joined the RAF to help defend Britain's skies

Written by Callum McKelvie

At the height of World War II several thousand volunteers from Africa and the Caribbean travelled across the world to train and fight during Britain's darkest hour. These individuals would participate as comrades in all three armed forces, as soldiers, sailors and members of the RAF. Yet despite the brave tales of heroism and derring-do, these volunteers are often ignored in military history. The stories of these RAF volunteers are some of the most fascinating and awe-inspiring of the entire war and yet we rarely see them discussed or portrayed in film and television. The organisation officially removed the so-called 'colour bar' in 1939, a rule that dictated that only white British men of European descent could join up. However, following the outbreak of war the policy was deemed outdated. The necessity for a continuous stream of skilled pilots and crew was more important than racial background, and the tragic losses during the Battle of Britain made that even more apparent. With the bar lifted, a group of eager volunteers were able to join and prove their ability in a variety of roles. The contributions of these African and Caribbean volunteers cannot be understated. Many went on to live extraordinary lives after ▶



Further details regarding the RAF Museum can be found at bit.ly/RAFMuseumAAH. You can also adopt an artefact, with further details at bit.ly/RAFMuseumAdopt.

Portrait source: Wiki/ Imperial War Museum
Scene: © Getty Images

the war too, from being the president of Barbados to voicing a character in TV series *Captain Scarlet And The Mysterons.*

At the outbreak of war in 1939 roughly one-quarter of the world's population lived in Commonwealth nations or countries under the control of the British Empire. As such, each country was involved in some way with the war. "As in World War I, Britain's African colonies provided essential raw materials and foodstuffs, including iron ore from Sierra Leone and cocoa from Nigeria," explains Peter Devitt, curator of the RAF Museum at Hendon, London. "The Caribbean colonies offered natural resources such as aluminium ore from British Guiana (now Guyana) and oil, which was plentiful in Trinidad. Coffee, rum and bananas were also exported. While these essentials were being sent to the mother country, there were severe shortages in the West Indies and rationing was introduced." However, despite living under colonial control and subject to rationing, numerous individuals from these countries decided that they would take a more direct approach to the conflict. With the lifting of the colour bar, they travelled to Britain and volunteered.

Just how many volunteered might be the cause of some surprise. "Some 6,000 African-Caribbean volunteers joined the RAF and RCAF. It's safe to say 450 served as aircrew, and that 150 of these men were killed," reveals Devitt. In Africa the colonial authorities restricted enlistment and only 60 were able to join. However, 5,200 joined the West African Air Corps – an auxiliary force based in Nigeria, Gambia, Sierra Leone and Ghana.

The question as to why there was a sudden influx of volunteers after the lifting of the colour bar is one which can seem puzzling. After all, none of these individuals were conscripted or forced to go. In choosing to join the RAF they were exposing themselves to the horrors of war and putting their lives in peril. "We just knew deep down inside that we were all in this together and that what was taking place around our world had to be stopped," explained volunteer navigator John Blair. "Few people think about what would have happened to them in Jamaica if Germany had defeated Britain, but we certainly could have returned to slavery." Ulric Cross, a Trinidadian rail worker, expressed a similar motivation behind joining up: '"The world was drowning in fascism so I decided to do something about it and volunteered to fight in the RAF."

Of the three armed forces, the RAF seems to have gained the respect of its volunteers far easier than the other services. Indeed, from contemporary sources it seems apparent that the higher echelons of the organisation took racism and discrimination against its members extremely seriously. A confidential memo from June of 1944 stated simply that: "All ranks should clearly understand that there is no colour bar in the Royal Air Force... any instance of discrimination on grounds of colour by white officers or airmen or any attitude of hostility towards personnel of non-European descent should be immediately and severely checked."

However, not all were welcoming towards the new volunteers. "Few white British people had met a black person before and most were ignorant about the volunteers and their homelands," explains Devitt. "This ignorance, combined with the prejudice and insensitivity of individuals, sometimes caused misunderstandings and conflict between the volunteers and their new hosts." Yet, as stated above, the RAF appeared to have a zero-tolerance policy regarding incidents of this nature and attempted to integrate the volunteers as much as possible. "The RAF sometimes managed to obtain Caribbean foodstuffs for the newcomers," Devitt continues. "Social and sports facilities were also made available and, in the cricket season, the inclusion of West Indian players helped break down barriers and made RAF teams difficult to beat." However, despite these attempts, an ingrained 'othering' towards the volunteers appeared to occur regularly. Navigator Cy Grant, from British Guiana, was standing outside an RAF building one day when a fellow officer approached and began chatting with him. After a while the officer expressed surprise that Grant's English was as good as his own, causing Grant to note that for the first time he felt his own "foreignness".

Grant was the subject of a particularly extraordinary series of circumstances when he was shot down over the Nazi-occupied Netherlands on 26 June 1943. Forced to bail out with the rest of the crew, they were captured and taken prisoner by a platoon of German soldiers. In a video interview with the Windrush Foundation, Grant recalled: "When I was shot down it caused a bit

In Memory
Of The
Service Men
And Women
From Africa
And The
Caribbean
Who Served
Alongside
The Forces Of
The British
Commonwealth
And Her Allies
During
WWI And WWII
West India Regiment and British West Indies Regiment
Air Crew and Ground Crew
West Indies Auxiliary Territorial Service
Caribbean Regiment
And to all the Forgotten

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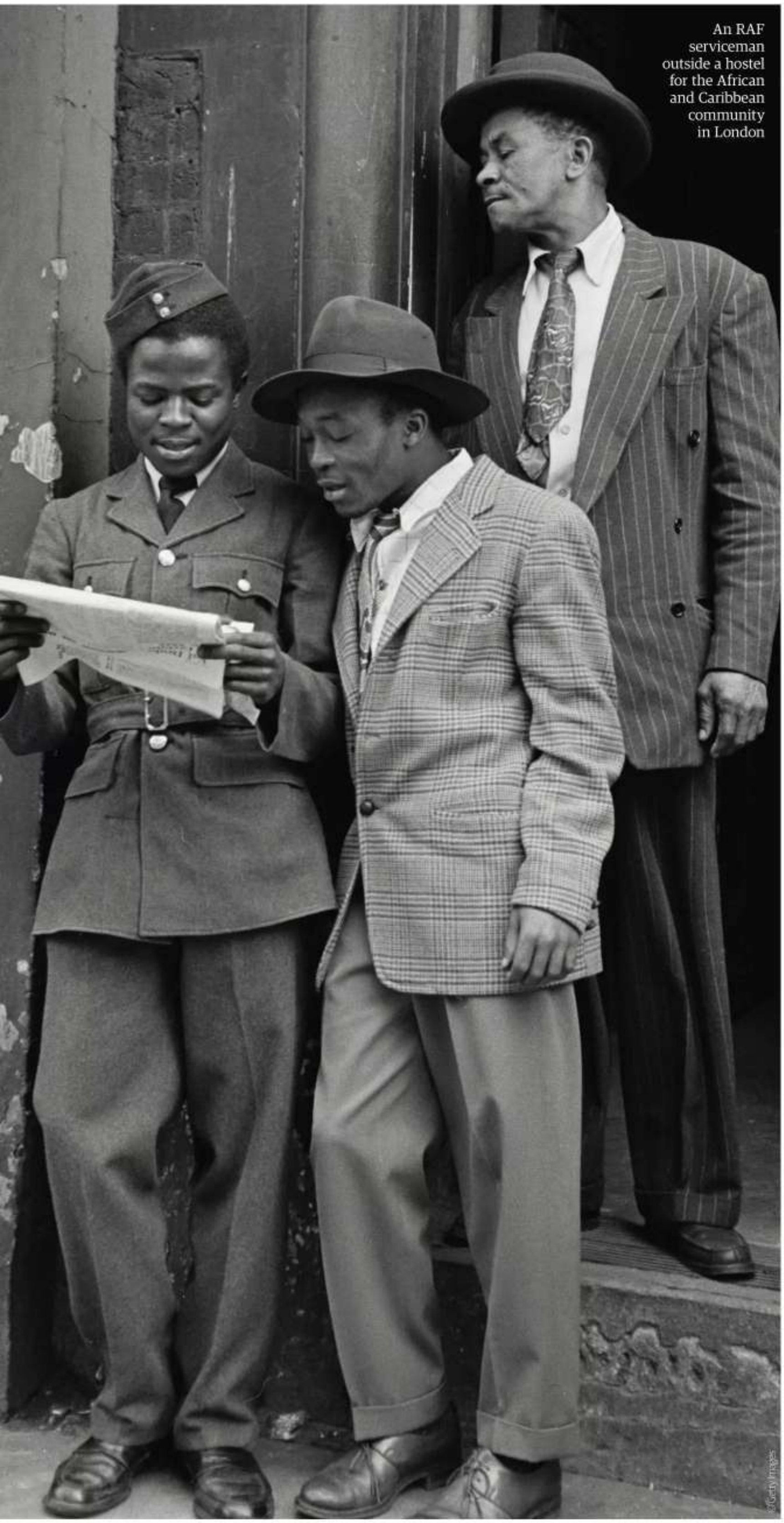
> "The world was drowning in fascism so I decided to do something about it and volunteered to fight in the RAF"

TOP A photograph showing the position of a navigator/bomb-aimer in a Stirling Bomber. Both Errol Barrow and Cy Grant were navigators

ABOVE A Supermarine Spitfire – Caribbean volunteers such as Sam King worked on repairing and fixing such aircraft

LEFT The memorial to the members of African and Caribbean nations who served in WWI and WWII. It was unveiled in Brixton, London, in 2017



An RAF serviceman outside a hostel for the African and Caribbean community in London

©Getty Images

War Workers Hostels

Providing lodgings for African and Caribbean volunteers exposed differing attitudes to race

The African and Caribbean volunteers who travelled to Britain to assist with the war effort were, in most cases, without lodgings when they arrived. The Royal Navy housed its Caribbean seamen in segregated hostels and paid them only one-third of what was paid to their white European comrades. War Workers Hostels were set up by the authorities to concentrate African and Caribbean volunteers where health services and other necessities could be provided. Unfortunately, this policy was also partially due to the fact that following America's entry into the war the British government complied with the segregationist policies of its ally. Although this only occurred where American troops were involved, it led to the creation of separate lodgings.

Image source: wiki/ Imperial War Museum

of a stir, I don't think there were many black airmen in those days and there certainly weren't many black officers. I was in solitary confinement for a while, for five days. I was pulled out into the bright sunshine and a photograph was taken of me - I don't know for what purpose." For most of the war, Grant spent his time in what he described as relative luxury, with access to music and entertainment. However in 1945, as the conflict came to a close, he and his fellow prisoners were taken to a much larger holding camp. With very little food and warmth, conditions were dire. One night, Grant was sent with a selection of other prisoners to forage for food and had to attempt to catch a herd of cows. He and his fellow POWs were finally liberated when six tanks and 29 Russian mobilised units came crashing through the outer perimeter fence. Grant remembered the moment vividly: "We crowded around their tanks, cheering in joy, taken aback by the magnitude of the moment - feeling the barbarism of war oozing from their bodies, their eyes, their entire demeanour. Free at last! Some Russian prisoners who were strong enough clambered aboard the tanks and were soon heading towards Berlin."

A more tragic story involved Warrant Officer Thomas William Johnson. "In October 2018 a journalist told me that a set of medals awarded to a black wartime air gunner was to be auctioned and kindly sent me the details," says Devitt. "The airman in question was Warrant Officer Thomas William Johnson, the only son of Mr and Mrs Thomas W Johnson of Upper Parliament Street, Liverpool. Warrant Officer Johnson had never discussed why he received the Distinguished Flying Medal, and he'd left a letter for his mother telling her not to mourn if he failed to return. I did a little digging and found the citation for his award: 'As rear gunner, [this NCO] has inspired the most complete confidence in his crew. His vigilance and calmness on many occasions when followed by enemy night fighters have enabled his Captain to take the necessary action to avoid attack. His keenness and the thoroughness he has put into all his work have set a very high example to the Squadron. He is strongly recommended for the award of the Distinguished Flying Medal'."

Johnson was only 18 when he joined the RAF, after the Merseyside Blitz in which some 4,000 people were killed. He himself would die aged 22 in a flying accident on 2 January 1945. Yet his brave and powerful story continues to resonate. "By strange coincidence, I was to talk about the RAF's black personnel to Home Office staff in Liverpool on 3 January 2018," says Devitt. "I incorporated the story of Warrant Officer Johnson into the paper I read and it was received with a mixture of sadness and pride by the people who heard it."

Those who volunteered were not just pilots or aircrew, and the majority served as ground crew or staff. One such individual was Sam King, who passed away in 2017. Training as an engine fitter at RAF Locking, he worked repairing Spitfires throughout the war. This was vital work: aircraft were in short supply and it was integral that those that could be repaired were fixed swiftly and efficiently. Following this he would return briefly to the Caribbean before rejoining the RAF, arriving aboard the MV Empire Windrush in 1948. After a few more years in service, King then left the RAF and became active in civilian life, helping establish 'pardner' saving schemes in South London. These collective saving schemes helped Caribbean families and community groups save to buy their own houses. Later, he would become the first black mayor of Southwark.

It was not just men who volunteered, either. One such example was Lilian Bader, who joined as a member of the WAAF (Women's Auxiliary Air Force). Born in Britain and believed to be of either Jamaican or Barbadian heritage, she was the first black woman to serve in the British armed forces. "With the outbreak of war she had worked briefly in a Navy, Army and Air Force Institutes (NAAFI) canteen," explains Devitt, "but was told to leave because she was black." As a member of the WAAF Bader chose to train as an instrument repairer. She was one of the first women to train in such a crucial job and after passing her course excelled in her role, eventually being promoted to acting corporal. Musing on her family's contribution to the British military, Bader stated: "Father served in the First World War, his three children served in the Second World War. I married a coloured man who was in the Second World War... as was his brother, who was decorated for bravery in Burma. Their father also served in the First World War. Our son was a helicopter pilot, he served in Northern Ireland. So, all in all, I think we have given back more to this country than we have received."

Even those who could not volunteer and remained home in the colonies such as Jamaica were committed to assisting the war effort in some way. "Just after Dunkirk, in 1940, the *Jamaica Gleaner* newspaper sent a telegram to Lord Beaverbrook, the new minister of aircraft production, asking him how much a bomber cost," Devitt reveals. "A notional figure was given, and a cheque for the amount duly appeared shortly afterwards. Jamaican people, some of the most impoverished in the British Empire, (witness the findings of the Moyne Commission in 1945) paid for the aircraft and later paid for all of the bombers of 139 Squadron, which took the name 'Jamaica' from that point. Ulric Cross from Trinidad later served with the squadron." Following this, so-called 'Spitfire Funds' gripped the UK as people flocked to contribute to the war effort in any way they could.

Yet, following the defeat of Germany and the end of the war, many people began to make it clear that these volunteers were no longer welcome. Speaking later, one Caribbean airman remembered an incident that had happened to him: "After I was demobbed in Nottingham a padre said to me: 'When are you

"Jamaican people, some of the most impoverished in the British Empire, paid for all the bombers of 139 Squadron"

BELOW West Indian volunteers pictured during training and inspection in 1944

3x Image source: wiki/ Imperial War Museum

Cy Grant, alias Lieutenant Green

The RAF hero who continued breaking down barriers after the war

After WWII many of the volunteers lived varied and exciting lives, perhaps none more so than RAF navigator Cy Grant, who was born in British Guiana (now Guyana). Despite qualifying as a barrister, he became a singer and actor and during the 1950s regularly appeared on the *Tonight* programme singing the news to a calypso beat. It was as a result of this that *Thunderbirds* creator Gerry Anderson cast Grant as the first regular black character in one of his productions, as Lieutenant Green in *Captain Scarlet And The Mysterons.* Green was a member of secret organisation SPECTRUM alongside the title character. Far darker than Anderson's previous series, a conscious effort appears to have been made to broaden the ethnicity of the show's characters, with Grant seemingly Anderson's only choice for the role. Grant would later go on to appear in other TV series such as *Blake's 7* and *Metal Mickey*, and films including *At The Earth's Core* and *Shaft In Africa.* Grant also had a successful career as a musician, authored several books and biographies, and was a keen activist. He passed away in 2010.

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going home?' I was shocked. If a padre could say that, what must everyone else be thinking?" A Jamaican telephone operator expressed the situation in earnest: "'It was as if it was okay to be over here while there was an emergency, but in 1945 we weren't wanted anymore."

Despite the actions and attitudes of some British citizens, for those who volunteered with the RAF during the war it remained a matter of extreme pride. Indeed one volunteer, Errol Barrow, would lead a distinguished political career directly following the war. An incredibly skilled navigator, he served as personal navigator to Marshal Sir William Sholto Douglas, the man who would become commander in chief for the British air forces over occupied Germany. Following the war Barrow returned to Barbados and in 1955 formed the Democratic Labour Party, whose main aims were to press for social reform and an end to British colonial rule. He was made prime minister in 1961 and a mere five years later oversaw the granting of independence. He also worked to make Barbados an island with greater self-reliance, building tourism, industry and commerce. As a result he lessened dependency on the United States and instead created stronger ties with other English-speaking Caribbean nations. He served until 1976, returning to office again in 1986 but sadly passed away a year later. Yet despite all these achievements, his gravestone reads: 'In memory of Flying Officer Errol Walton Barrow, Navigator, Royal Air Force, World War Two and Prime Minister of Barbados'. Despite talking little about his contribution to the war and leaving no memoirs covering the period 1940-1947, Barrow was evidently proud of his time as a navigator. His son, David Barrow, stated that his father had proudly kept his RAF sextant after the war.

Now, the legacy of these incredibly brave men and women is being celebrated and rediscovered by an entirely new generation. The RAF Museum has an exhibition celebrating the many contributions of the black African and Caribbean volunteers to the war effort. "For many members of the African diaspora, the history of the RAF had previously been a closed-off area of white endeavour and achievement that was irrelevant to their lives," explains Devitt. "Thankfully, this is no longer the case and we have witnessed large numbers of visitors, both black and white, engaging with a story that embraces heroism, comradeship, glamour and success. The exhibition has made a lot of people proud and happy and it has provided valuable role models for younger people." ○

LEFT C Pakeman of Jamaica interviewed on the passing out parade for West Indian volunteers

BELOW-LEFT AO Weekes of Barbados (left) and Flight Sergeant CA Joseph of San Fernando, both members of the Bombay Squadron

BELOW Cy Grant, who was taken prisoner after being shot down in 1943

© Getty Images

FORGOTTEN FRONTS OF WORLD WAR I

We explore the horrors and heroics that took place beyond the Western Front of Europe

Written by Callum McKelvie

© Getty Images

EXPERT BIO

Leading military historian Dr Peter Johnston is head of research and academic access at the National Army Museum in London. He has written about many areas of British military history, including British propaganda in WWI and the Falklands War.

Between 1914-18 over 30 nations declared war and joined in the conflict which we now remember as World War I. There were troops everywhere from the Middle East to Africa. Yet today when we see the conflict portrayed in films, books and documentaries the prevailing image is of the Western Front and France, from novels such as *All Quiet On The Western Front* to films such as Sam Mendez's *1917*.

Speaking to Dr Peter Johnston, head of research at the National Army Museum in Chelsea, we asked him about some of World War I's 'forgotten fronts'. "The popular memory of World War I in Britain is dominated by imagery of the Western Front, of trenches, of mud, and of British men struggling to advance over small patches of ground," he says. "But the conflict saw the British Army engaged across the world; British troops fought in Europe, in east, west and south-west Africa, at Gallipoli in Turkey, in Mesopotamia and Palestine, and even as far afield as China."

Moving even further away and examining other fronts, most of which the British forces had no involvement in, a vast array of rarely-spoken-of areas of battle emerge that completely shatter the popular image that most of us have of the war. Over the next few pages we highlight some of these forgotten fronts, showing the truly global nature of World War I.

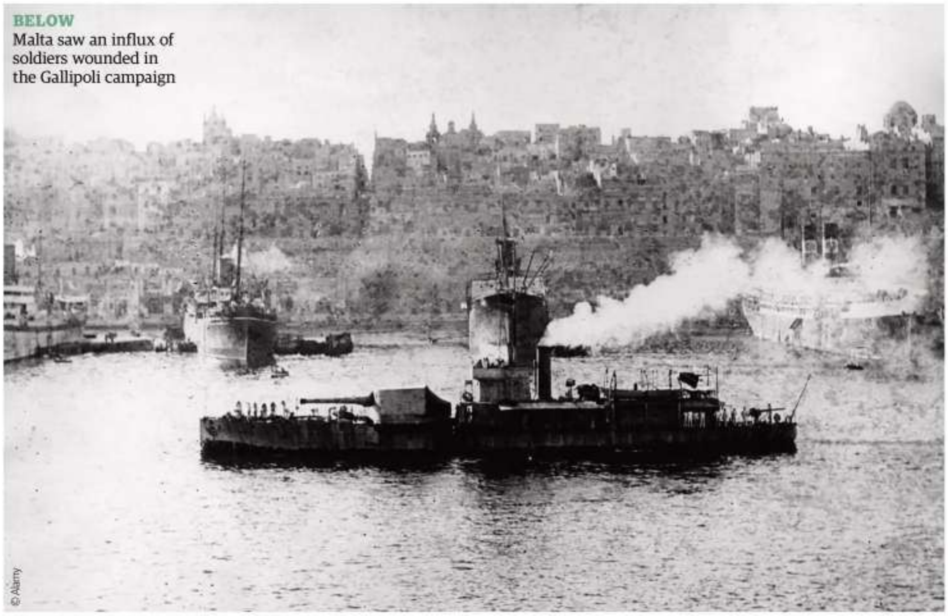
CHINA

Image source: wiki/Imperial War Museum

China, initially neutral, found itself acting as an important battle ground in the early years of the war. "The port of Tsingtao was fought over by the British and Germans," Johnston explains. "But the war also saw China open itself up far more to the world. The main form this took was the supplying of workers in lieu of soldiers for service in Europe. The French and British started to bring Chinese workers to France as early as 1916 to act as labourers, freeing up more of their soldiers for frontline service. Of all the international labourers brought to Europe, China sent the largest number of men, around 140,000, and its workers remained in France the longest. Those recruited by the British were collectively known as the Chinese Labour Corps, and would continue working on the former battlefields until 1920. Those under the French stayed until 1922, working to clear live ammunition, exhume bodies from battlefields and carve gravestones for war cemeteries. These Chinese labourers were critical to the British and French war efforts and about 3,000 men lost their lives."

However, despite this, following the war a schism emerged between the allies as they refused to assist China in liberating those areas that had been occupied by the Japanese in the early years of the war. "China had declared war on Germany and joined the Allied side in 1917," Johnston continues. "But in the aftermath of the war the Great Powers - Britain, France and the USA - treated China unfairly and refused to return Shandong, instead allowing Japan to take over German interests in China. Shandong was an integral part of Chinese territory and was considered to be the cradle of Chinese civilization and a Holy Land for the Chinese. Its inhabitants were entirely Chinese in race, language and religion. In return, China refused to sign the Treaty of Versailles - the only nation that refused to do so."

ABOVE
Chinese labourers were vital to the British and French



BELOW
Malta saw an influx of soldiers wounded in the Gallipoli campaign

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> "In total, 136,121 wounded or sick soldiers were treated in Malta, earning it the nickname of 'the Nurse of the Mediterranean'"

MALTA

Few places during World War I occupied the unique position of Malta, an archipelago located in the Mediterranean between Sicily and the North African coast. Dr Johnston explains: "Malta was a British colony in World War I and so was heavily involved in the war effort, particularly from 1915 onwards when campaigns were launched at Gallipoli and in Salonika in the Balkans." In 1915 the British, French and ANZAC forces began an ambitious amphibian assault at Gallipoli as part of a plot to allow Allied ships through the Dardanelles to finally defeat Ottoman Turkey. However, the campaign was a disaster and Malta suddenly found itself with an influx of wounded soldiers being sent there for treatment. "It was a major medical hub, with 27 military hospitals," Johnston tells us. "In total, 136,121 wounded or sick soldiers were treated in Malta, earning it the nickname of 'the Nurse of the Mediterranean'. Thousands are still there, buried in the cemeteries of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission."

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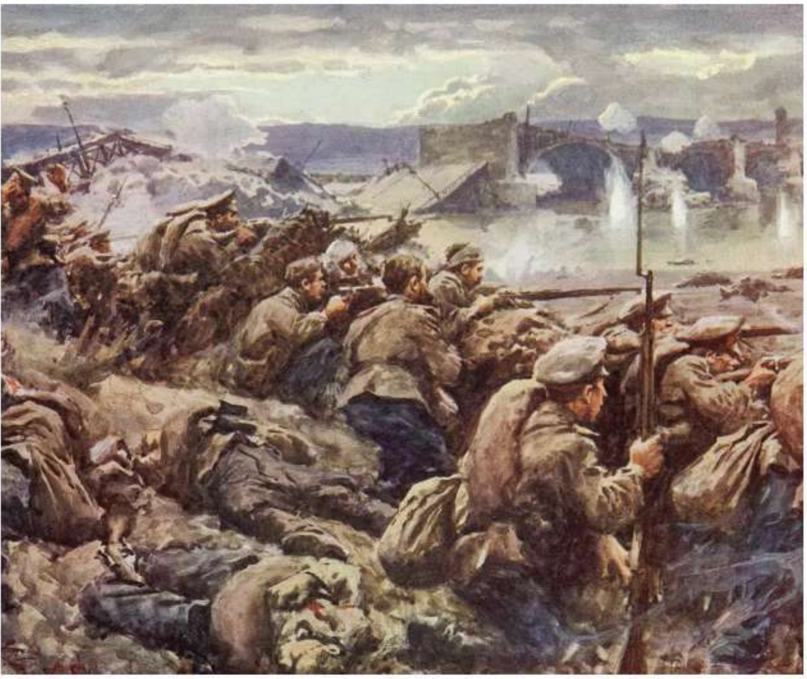
THE EASTERN FRONT

In 1931 Winston Churchill penned a series of volumes examining the history of World War I. The work was titled *The Unknown War*, which seems particularly apt for the volume examining the campaign on the Eastern Front. That much of the Eastern Front's history remains untold is unusual, because compared to the West (where armies would face long periods in trenches fighting over small patches of land) the battle in the East was decidedly mobile. Huge movements of troops were required by both the Germans, Russians and Austro-Hungarians as advances and retreats took place over hundreds of miles.

Upon mobilisation, Russia's army was Europe's largest, with some 3.5 million men, and they were spread out on a front some 500km long. However, because of their large numbers, as the conflict wore on Russia struggled to equip its soldiers to fight (with some reports stating there was only one rifle for every three soldiers). Back in Russia, there was a constant struggle to mine the natural resources it had available and industrialise in such a way that they could be used to contribute to the war effort. The result was a shattering of moral and vast losses.

These factors would be key contributors to the Russian Revolutions that would occur in 1917. When Vladimir Lenin seized control he negotiated the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk with Germany, which ended Russia's involvement in the war.



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ABOVE Poorly equipped Russian soldiers suffered heavy losses

LEFT Around 3.5 million Russian troops fought in WWI

AFRICA

"Africa was an important battleground during World War I," Johnston tells us. "As well as supplying troops for the fighting – troops from French North Africa fought for France in Europe – it was also a major battleground. For the British, the war really began in west Africa three days after Britain declared war on Germany, with the first shots being fired on 7 August 1914 by Lance Corporal Alhaji Grunshi of the Gold Coast Regiment in Togoland, now Togo. There were further campaigns in Kamerun and south-west Africa, as well as in east Africa. This was the longest campaign of World War I, with fighting not formally ending until 25 November 1918."

But as stated previously, Africa was not just a battleground for the Western powers: many local people were conscripted and served both the Allies and Central Powers. "Africans from across the continent fought for both sides during the war, and their colonisers," Johnston continues. "They served as soldiers, but many more served as porters and carriers. As many as 90,000 carriers may have died in British service in the east African campaign."

However, like many battlegrounds during the conflict, the post-war cost for Africa was colossal and reached far and wide. "There were also severe consequences for Africa as a result of the war," Johnston explains. "As well as colonies changing hands, a combination of poor rains, and the casualties, resulted in poor harvests and famines, and the Spanish Flu pandemic also struck."

BELOW The bitter fighting in Africa during World War I has often been overlooked

Image source: wiki/ Imperial War Museum

LEBANON

One of World War I's forgotten tragedies is the famine of Mount Lebanon in what was known as Greater Syria. On 25 August 1915, the Allied Powers declared a blockade on the Ottoman Empire's Mediterranean coast. There was of course an understanding such a policy would have a profound result upon the civilian population but the decision was taken anyway. As food shortages began, additional factors contributed to the continuing lack of food in the area. General Jamal Pasha, commander in chief of the Turkish forces in Greater Syria, introduced a blockade of his own which prevented cereal and wheat from entering Mount Lebanon. Finally, a swarm of locusts descended and devoured all the crops and harvests that had not been distributed among the Ottoman military. The famine lasted for three years and claimed an estimated 500,000 lives.

In September 1918, British and Arabian forces under the command of General Edmund Allenby and Faysal I invaded Palestine, signalling the beginning of the occupation of Lebanon.

2x Image source: Australian War Memorial

FAR-LEFT
Sikh troops saw action in WWI

LEFT
Australian cavalry prepare for battle

JAPAN

BELOW
Japan used WWI to seize territory held by Germany

In 1902 Japan had signed an alliance with Great Britain, with the result being that in 1914 (like numerous other countries) they found themselves declaring war on Germany, despite deep misgivings about the prospect. Initially, numerous requests from Britain to provide naval or troop support were declined. In 1917, a task force of Japanese ships was sent to assist in the Mediterranean, named the Second Special Squadron.

However, Japan did focus much of its military efforts at home, seeing an unprecedented opportunity to expand into continental Asia. After issuing an ultimatum demanding Germany withdraw its fleet from Asian waters and hand over the Jiaozhou Bay concession, the stage was set for the establishment of a military foothold in China. "Japan had taken the opportunity presented by the war to seize territories from Germany and expand its influence as a world power," Johnston explains. "While its short-term economic boom did not last, the comparative ease of Japan's victories, combined with domestic political instability, contributed to a growth of militarism that sought to further extend Japan's political dominance across South-East Asia and the Pacific and secure economic resources through the use of force."

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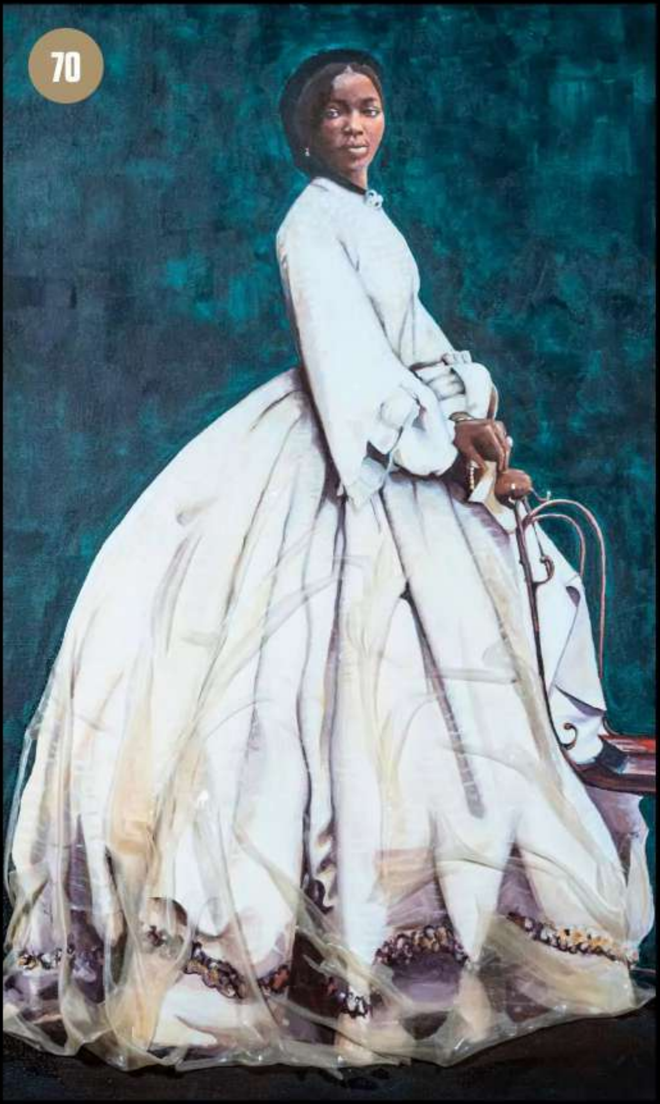

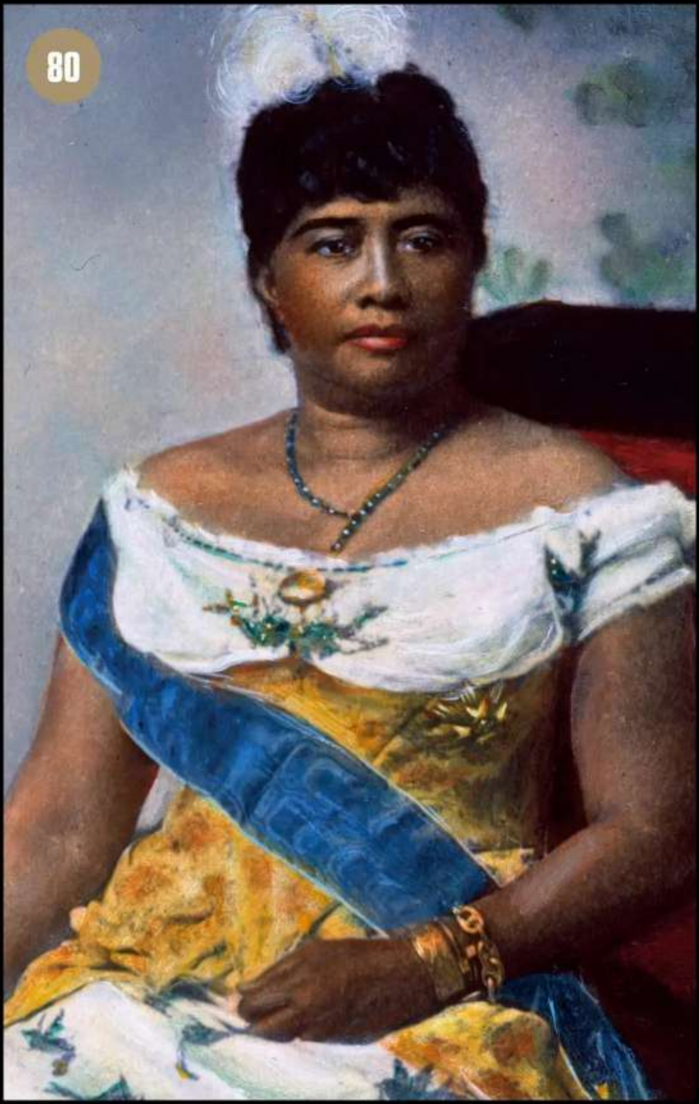

Radical Royals

Tales of intrigue, plotting and boundless generosity as we look at thrones across the globe

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Discover the bloody battlefields that turned Prince Hal into a conquerer

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The story of Sarah Forbes Bonetta who went from captive to royal protégée

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How the Ottoman leader brought an end to Christendom in the East

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The remarkable women who fought for independence and freedom for her people

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HENRY V

THE MAKING OF THE WARRIOR KING

The future victor of Agincourt won his spurs as a young Prince of Wales while defending his father from enemies across Britain

Written by Tom Garner

Illustration by: Joe Cummings

Henry V is one of England's most famous monarchs. Often presented as the epitome of medieval kingship, he's best known for winning the Battle of Agincourt in 1415. One of the greatest 'against the odds' victories in military history, Henry led a bedraggled English force of 6,000-8,000 men against a French army many times their size - and won. The king's success was attributed to his generalship as well as the skill of his soldiers, the majority of whom were longbowmen.

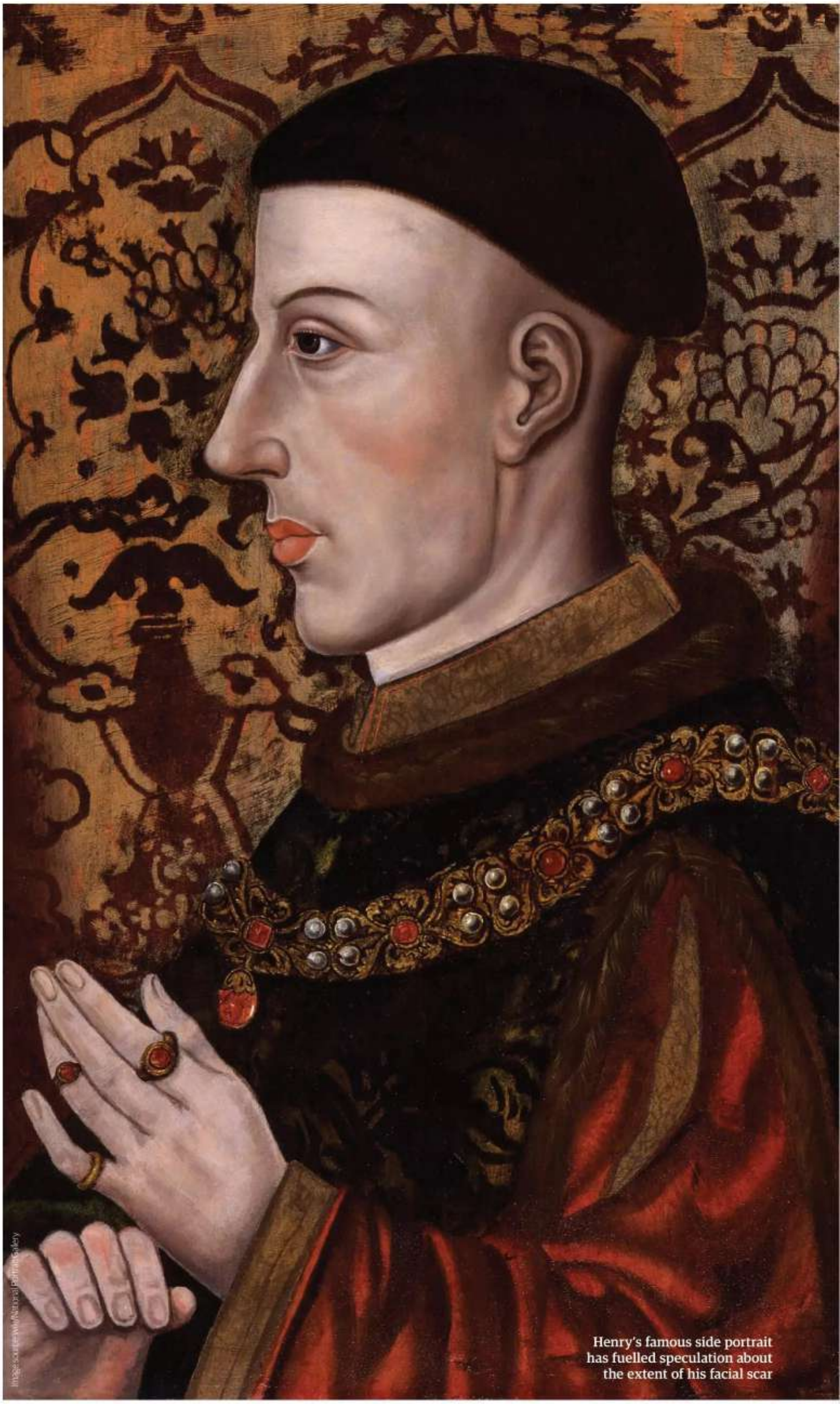
Agincourt became one of the most notable battles of the Hundred Years' War and Henry was lionized, not just in his own lifetime but most notably by William Shakespeare. His 1599 play *Henry V* cast the king as "this star of England", a heroic leader with the common touch who collectively identified himself with his men as "we band of brothers".

This interpretation of Henry V has dominated popular conceptions of the king but should be regarded as a rousing, largely fictional characterisation. However, the truth about Henry's military career is no less fascinating. Agincourt was a remarkable victory but if Henry's previous fighting experiences are examined, it becomes apparent that his success in 1415 was not entirely by accident. The king was only in his late twenties when he won his defining battle but he had already spent much of his life serving a unique military apprenticeship. It is the story of a teenage prince who campaigned across the British Isles, fought battles and defended a fledgling dynasty to protect his future crown.

MONMOUTH, IRELAND AND USURPATION

When Henry was born, there was little indication of the trajectory that his life would take. He was a great-grandson of Edward III through his father Henry, Earl of Derby (who was popularly known as Bolingbroke after his Lincolnshire birthplace) while his mother was Mary de Bohun, the daughter of the seventh earl of Hereford. Bolingbroke was a first cousin to the ruling King Richard II but he was not his heir. Henry's birth was deemed so unimportant that the exact date is disputed. Some historians believe he was born in August 1387 while others claim it was earlier, in September 1386.

Nevertheless, Henry's family traditions made his future life as a warrior inevitable. Edward III had achieved military successes in France during the early stages of the Hundred Years' War, while Bolingbroke was an adventurous soldier who fought on crusade with the Teutonic Knights in 1390. Henry was born in Monmouth Castle, which was an important fortress on the Anglo-Welsh border. Monmouth had a formidable keep and the town was built around its defences, which included curtain walls and a fortified bridge. For someone whose early military service would be



Henry's famous side portrait has fuelled speculation about the extent of his facial scar

Image source: wiki/National Portrait Gallery

> “HENRY OWNED A SWORD AT THE AGE OF TEN AND COULD RIDE, SWIM AND PRACTICE ARCHERY. THIS EMPHASIS ON MARTIAL SKILL WAS ESSENTIAL FOR AN ASPIRING SOLDIER”

largely served in Wales, the castle was an apt environment for Henry to be born into, and until 1399 he was known as Henry of Monmouth.

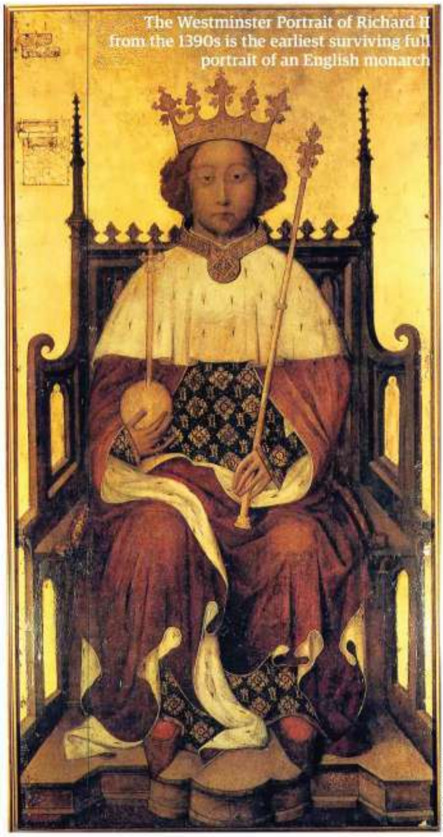
Although he had a weak claim to the throne, Henry did belong to the House of Lancaster, one of the most powerful dynasties in England. At Henry's birth it was headed by his grandfather John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster whose power was almost the equal of Richard II. Many doubted Lancaster's loyalty to the crown but the duke was one of Richard's most loyal supporters.

The eldest of six children, Henry grew up on his father's estates and also in the care of his maternal grandmother Joan, Countess of Hereford. He was trained in military affairs from an early age. His Lancastrian retainers were veterans of Bolingbroke's Lithuanian crusade and battles from Edward III's period of the Hundred Years' War. Some would fight alongside Henry in France as older soldiers when he became king and the young boy would have been well aware of England's longstanding claim to the French throne.

Henry owned a sword at the age of ten and could ride, swim and practice archery. This emphasis on martial skill was essential training for an aspiring soldier but Henry was also personally tutored by his uncle Henry Beaufort. A future cardinal, Beaufort made sure that Henry was not only literate but grounded in theology. As king, Henry was noted for his piety and had ambitions to lead a crusade so it's likely that he developed his religious fervour under his uncle's tutelage.

In 1398, Henry's life changed when his father was exiled from England by Richard II. Bolingbroke (who was now Duke of Hereford) had accused the Duke of Norfolk of treason and Richard ordered that their dispute be settled at a tournament at Coventry. For Richard, the duel was an opportunity because both noblemen had been part of the 'Lords Appellant' faction who had sought to impeach some of his favourites ten years earlier. As an absolutist, but unstable and insecure ruler, Richard sought to reassert his power and when both men were in the lists he dramatically ordered the combat to stop.

Norfolk was exiled for life while Bolingbroke was banished for ten years. To ensure that he did not attempt to return prematurely, Richard held his son Henry as an honoured hostage at court. Relations soured further when John of Gaunt died ▶


The Westminster Portrait of Richard II from the 1390s is the earliest surviving full portrait of an English monarch

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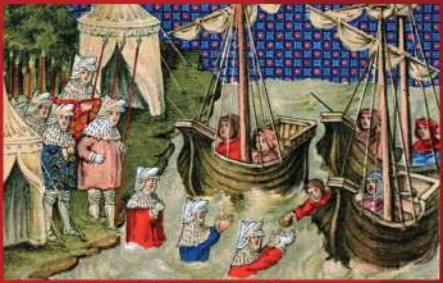
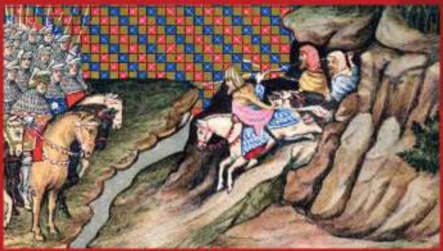
RICHARD II IN IRELAND

The Emerald Isle was the scene of two forgotten expeditions led by the doomed king, with the latter becoming the future Henry V's first military experience


Ships bring provisions to the English army during the campaign of 1394


Art MacMurrough, King of Leinster attacks the English from a forest

Richard II was the son of the Edward, the Black Prince who was one of the most distinguished warriors of the medieval period. However, Richard was largely uninterested in military affairs and was more famous for his sophisticated court. Nevertheless, he led two expeditions to Ireland, the first of which was quite successful.

As Lord of Ireland, Richard was technically the most powerful ruler on the island but English rule was limited to the area around Dublin known as 'the Pale'. Irish chieftains and Anglo-Irish lords descended from Norman invaders lived independently and Richard decided to lead an expedition to reassert his authority.

Landing in October 1394 at the head of 7,000-8,000 men, Richard was the first English king to visit Ireland since King John in 1210. The scale of his army meant that he was able to secure the submissions of many leading Irish lords and chieftains, including the powerful Art MacMurrough, King of Leinster. He returned to England with his reputation enhanced, but not for long.

Many of the Irish lords reneged on their submission and began fighting among themselves. Richard's nominated heir was also killed in battle at Kellistown in 1398. The king sailed again in 1399, albeit with a reduced force, to once more assert his authority – particularly over MacMurrough. It was on this expedition that Henry of Monmouth accompanied Richard but this time the campaign was a failure. MacMurrough refused to fight in open battle and used scorched-earth tactics against the English. Supplies became scarce for Richard's men and the king had to return from the Irish countryside to Dublin.

MacMurrough did not re-pledge his allegiance to the crown but Richard's gravest mistake was being in Ireland at all in the wake of Bolingbroke's invasion of England. In a sad irony, Richard's eagerness to return to the scene of one of his greatest successes directly led to his downfall.

in February 1399. Bolingbroke was now Duke of Lancaster and the recipient of a vast inheritance. He asked Richard if he could return but the king seized his estates and extended his exile to life.

Seemingly oblivious to the political crisis he had created, Richard made preparations for a campaign in Ireland. Irish chieftains, who had only been recently pacified in a previous campaign, had risen up in revolt while Roger Mortimer, 4th Earl of March had been killed in battle. March was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and had also been the childless Richard's nominated heir. The campaign was quickly underway and the king took most of the English nobility with him, including the young Henry.

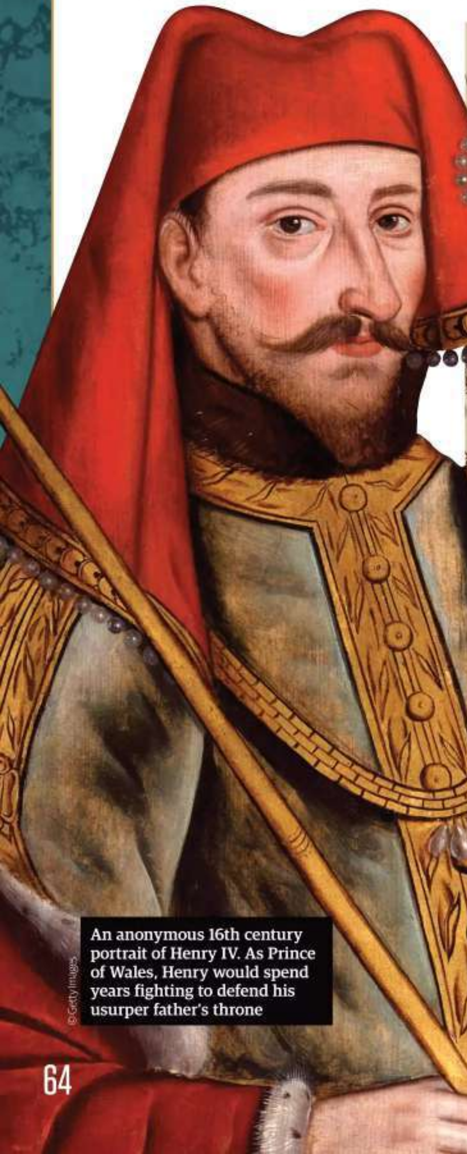
Although Henry was taken to Ireland as a surety for his father's good behaviour, Richard treated him well. During the campaign the boy was knighted by the king, but political storm clouds were brewing. Bolingbroke sailed from Boulogne with a small company and landed at Ravenspur in Yorkshire to claim his inheritance. His passage through England was filled with Lancastrian castles that openly greeted him and his small force was boosted by the retinues of influential noblemen. This included the powerful earl of Northumberland whose son, Sir Henry 'Hotspur' Percy, was one of the greatest knights of his generation.

Royal authority soon drained away. When Richard heard of the invasion in Ireland he reputedly said to Bolingbroke's son, "Henry, my boy, see what thy father hath done to me." The boy apparently pleaded his father's innocence but events were beyond his control. He was placed in Trim Castle, County Meath while Richard left for North Wales. The king was soon betrayed and captured at Conwy Castle before he was imprisoned by Bolingbroke in the Tower of London.

By now, Bolingbroke knew he wouldn't survive if he simply claimed his Lancastrian inheritance from Richard. It's not certain when he decided to claim the crown, and by strict hereditary principles Richard's heir was now the seven- year-old Edmund Mortimer, 5th Earl of March. But March's claim was ignored and on 30 September 1399 the English throne was officially vacated.

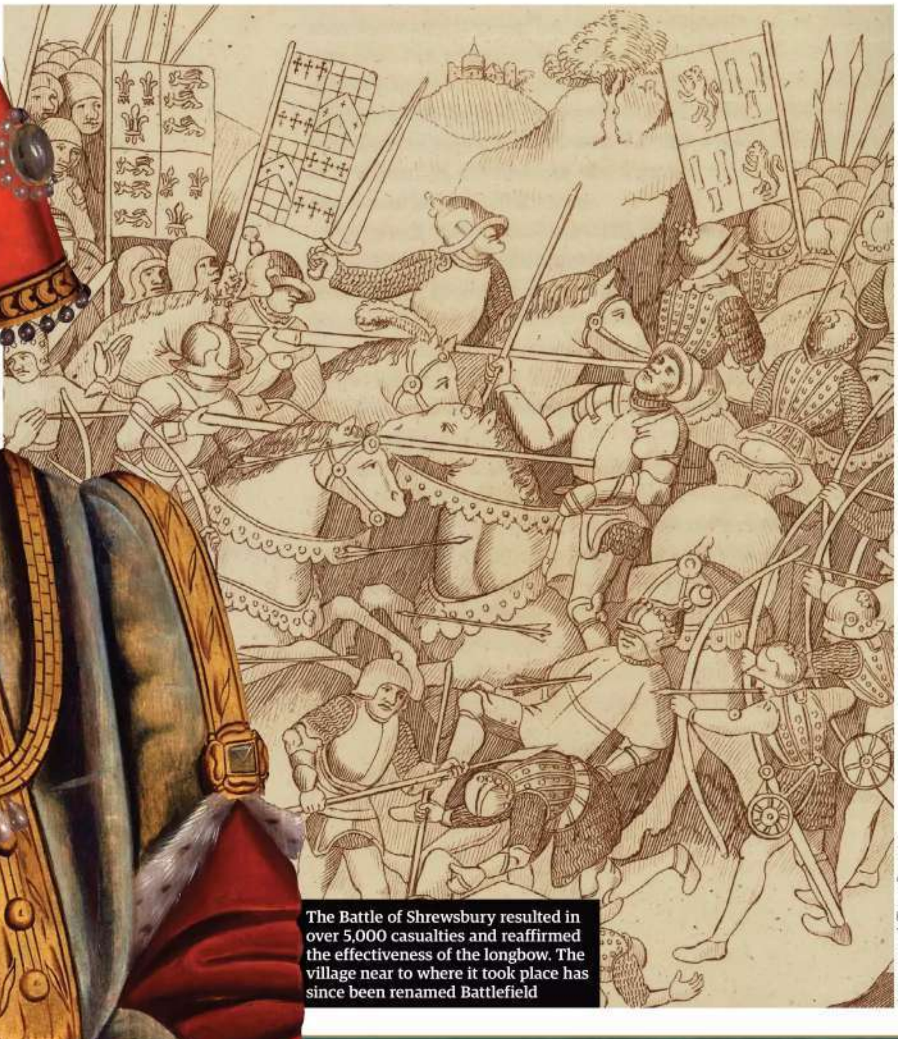
There are conflicting accounts over whether Richard abdicated with resignation or unwillingly but Bolingbroke's claim to the throne was accepted by Parliament. Henry was recalled from Trim Castle and on 12 October he and his younger brothers were knighted by their father in London. The following day, Bolingbroke was crowned as Henry IV in Westminster Abbey

"BOY THOUGH HE WAS, HE DID NOT FALTER, BUT WITH COURAGE BEYOND HIS YEARS, DISREGARDING HIS WOUNDS, CHEERED ON HIS TROOPS TO VENGEANCE"



An anonymous 16th century portrait of Henry IV. As Prince of Wales, Henry would spend years fighting to defend his usurper father's throne

©Getty Images



The Battle of Shrewsbury resulted in over 5,000 casualties and reaffirmed the effectiveness of the longbow. The village near to where it took place has since been renamed Battlefield

Image source: wiki/Thomas Pennant

while his eldest son carried the Sword of Justice. Immediately after the coronation, his father announced that Henry was to be created Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, Lancaster, Aquitaine and the Earl of Chester.

The former Henry of Monmouth was invested with his titles the following month where he received a coronet, ring and rod as signs of his authority. It was a remarkable reversal of fortune for a boy whose father had been exiled only the year before. However, the fact remained that Henry IV had usurped an anointed king and this would create huge problems for his son over the next few years.

A RIVAL PRINCE OF WALES

After Henry IV's coronation, the former Richard II was taken from the Tower of London and imprisoned in the Lancastrian stronghold of Pontefract Castle in Yorkshire. His continued presence led to a plot for his restoration in January 1400, which was known as the Epiphany Rising. Several noblemen, including the earls of Huntingdon and Kent, planned to seize Henry IV and Prince Henry at Windsor before restoring Richard to the throne.

The rebels were betrayed and the new royal family escaped to London before the plotters were then hunted down and executed. Richard was also dead within a month in murky circumstances. The deposed king's body was publicly displayed in London before it was obscurely buried at King's Langley, Hertfordshire. It's unknown what Prince Henry made of what had become of the man who had knighted him. However, it is perhaps telling that as soon as he ascended the throne in 1413 he had Richard reburied in a state funeral at Westminster Abbey.

Nevertheless, in the immediate circumstance Prince Henry was extremely preoccupied. The Epiphany Rising was just the beginning of almost a decade of warfare that saw English, Welsh and Scottish forces attempt to dethrone Henry IV in what was described as a "scrambling and unquiet time".

Henry's first campaign was in the Scottish borderlands where raiding had

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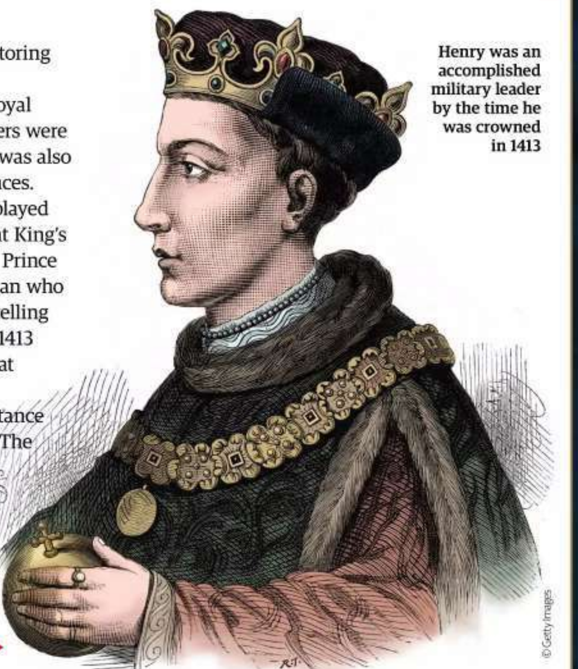

Henry was an accomplished military leader by the time he was crowned in 1413

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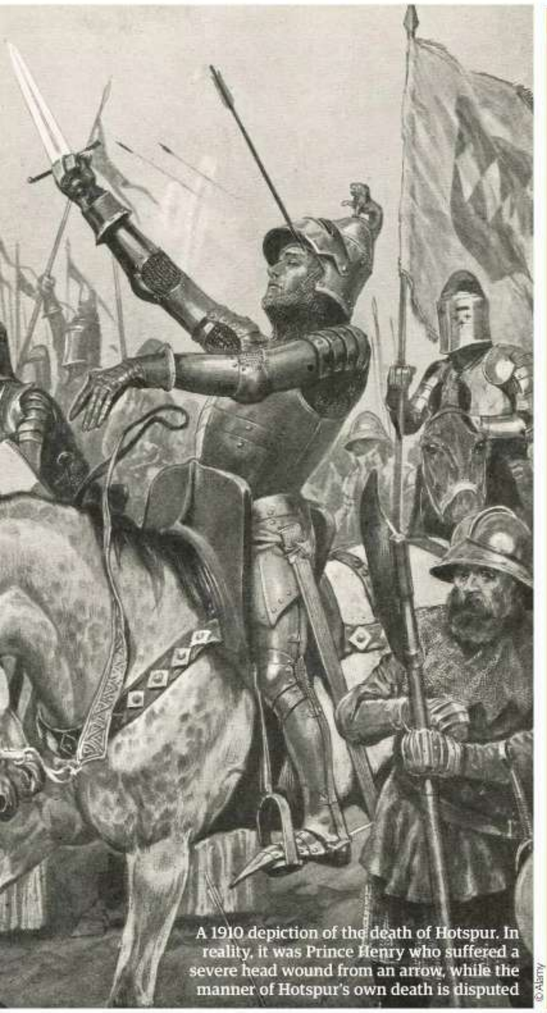


A 1910 depiction of the death of Hotspur. In reality, it was Prince Henry who suffered a severe head wound from an arrow, while the manner of Hotspur's own death is disputed

© Alamy

THE SHREWSBURY SCAR

Prince Henry underwent a horrific but successful surgery after defeating Hotspur, which most likely left him facially disfigured

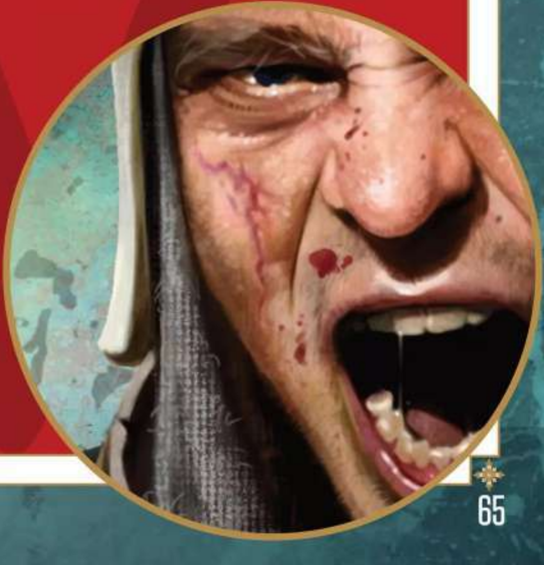
Henry IV may have won the Battle of Shrewsbury but Prince Henry's grave facial wound put his life in danger. He had been hit by an arrow that had penetrated just below the eye and to the side of the nose. The shaft was extracted but the arrowhead remained lodged "in the furthermost part of the bone of the skull to the depth of six inches".

Such a wound required delicate surgery and Henry was taken to Kenilworth Castle in Warwickshire for treatment. Various doctors unsuccessfully tried to remove the arrowhead by "potions and other cures". In the end, a London surgeon called John Bradmore performed the operation. Bradmore had been a convicted but pardoned coiner of false money, but he was also an innovative medic.

To extract the arrowhead, Bradmore devised a small pair of hollow tongs that had a screw mechanism running through the middle. Henry's wound had to be enlarged before the tongs were inserted. The tool was infused with rose honey before it was placed into the socket of the arrowhead. In his treatise *Philomena*, Bradmore describes how "by moving it to and fro, little by little (with the help of God) I extracted the arrowhead".

To prevent infection, Bradmore "cleaned the wound with a syringe of white wine and placed in new probes, made of wads of flax in a cleansing ointment". Prepared from bread sops, barley, honey and turpentine oil these wads were reduced over 20 days before the wound was declared clean. Finally, "I regenerated the flesh with a dark ointment… And thus, thanks to God, he was perfectly cured."

Bradmore made no mention of anaesthetics or stitches. Henry probably experienced agonising pain during his operation and was likely heavily scarred. No mention was ever made of a facial scar but his famous portrait is notable for being a rare side profile of an English monarch. This gives an implicit hint that Henry's face was disfigured after Shrewsbury, although thanks to Bradmore he remarkably survived.



intensified following his father's accession. Henry IV travelled north in August 1400 to force King Robert III to swear homage to him but the Scots refused to fight and remained in their fortresses.

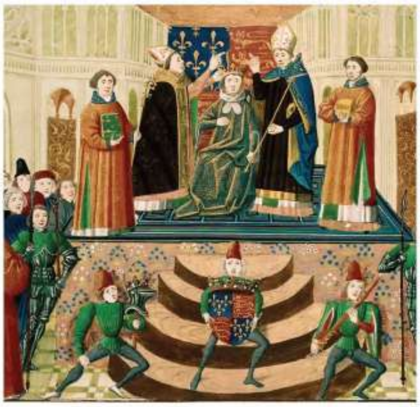
Shortly afterwards, a much more serious threat developed against English authority in Wales. On 16 September 1400, a previously obscure Welsh nobleman called Owain Glyndŵr proclaimed himself as Prince of Wales, which sparked a major revolt. Wales had been under English rule since the conquests of Edward I in the late 13th century. Powerful 'Marcher Lords' reinforced the king's writ in the border counties but one of them - Lord Grey of Ruthin - had entered a minor land dispute with Glyndŵr that had escalated out of control. Glyndŵr was not a natural rebel because he had been educated in England and even fought for Richard II on several campaigns. Nevertheless, after a series of quarrels Grey petitioned Henry IV to declare Glyndŵr a traitor. This was the catalyst for Glyndŵr proclaiming himself as an independent Prince of Wales.

This action was not as outlandish as it appeared. Glyndŵr was descended from native Welsh royalty and he was the hereditary prince of Powys. His proclamation as Prince of Wales was revolutionary but he was more acceptable to many Welsh people than Henry. Although he was Welsh-born, Henry was an English prince and - most damningly in the eyes of the rebels - the son of a usurper. Wales had been one of Richard II's strongest areas of support and the emergence of a rival, native prince became an existential threat to Henry.

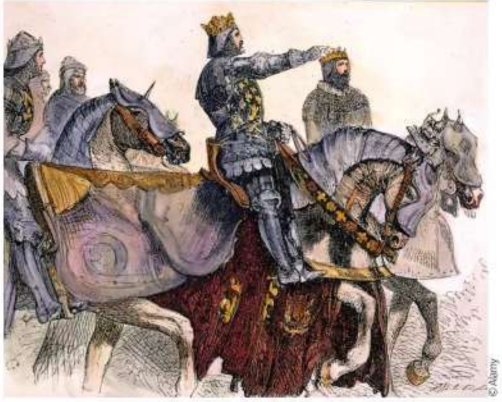
At first, the English did not take the threat from Glyndŵr seriously, with one chronicler writing, "The Welsh habit of revolt against the English is an old-standing madness." Nevertheless, the rebellion spread across the principality and Henry, who was only 14 when it began, was in command of royal forces in Wales. He began attending council meetings at Westminster, which were also attended by Hotspur. A highly experienced soldier who had fought across Europe, Hotspur was most famous for his defence of the English border against the Scots. It is likely that he mentored Henry for a brief time while Glyndŵr strengthened his position.

Henry was initially based in Chester and when rebels took Conwy Castle in April 1401, the prince and Hotspur spent a month recapturing it. Henry IV then led a campaign into Wales that achieved nothing while Glyndŵr defeated and captured Hotspur's brother-in-law Sir Edmund Mortimer in June 1402.

Henry IV did little to ransom Mortimer, which angered Hotspur, before leading yet another failed campaign into Wales. By this time, Prince Henry and Hotspur had already reported to the king that their troops were not being paid. Although Henry merely informed his father, Hotspur loudly complained before he resigned his Welsh command and returned to the north to defend the Anglo-Scottish border.



The coronation of Henry IV. He and his successor Henry V were the first kings to speak English as a first language since Anglo-Saxon times



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Henry IV and his sons prepare for battle at Shrewsbury. Prince Henry, who was only 16 at the time, suffered a horrific facial wound when he was hit in the face by an arrow.

> "THESE SCORCHED-EARTH TACTICS WERE AN EARLY LESSON FOR HENRY, WHO USED SIMILAR STRATEGIES AGAINST THE FRENCH"

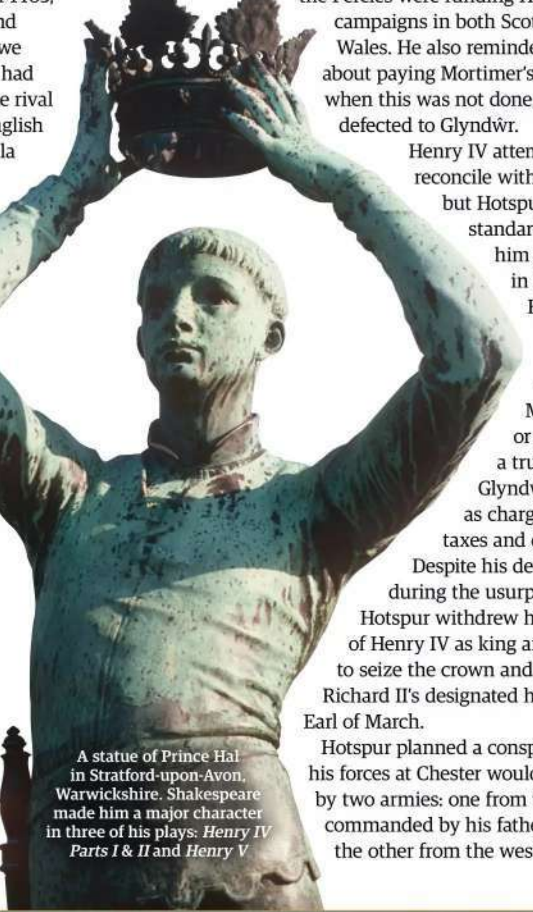
Prince Henry had lost his mentor but he had more military freedom. Despite this independence, Glyndŵr proved an elusive foe. During one march in the early summer of 1403, Henry's force attempted to find Glyndŵr "where we thought we should have found him, if he had an inclination to fight" but the rival prince was not found. The English response to the Welsh guerrilla warfare was a scorched-earth policy, including in Merionethshire, where Henry coldly reported, "There we wasted a fair land and one well-inhabited." These brutal tactics were an early campaigning lesson for Henry, who used similar strategies in his later French campaigns.

"COURAGE BEYOND HIS YEARS"

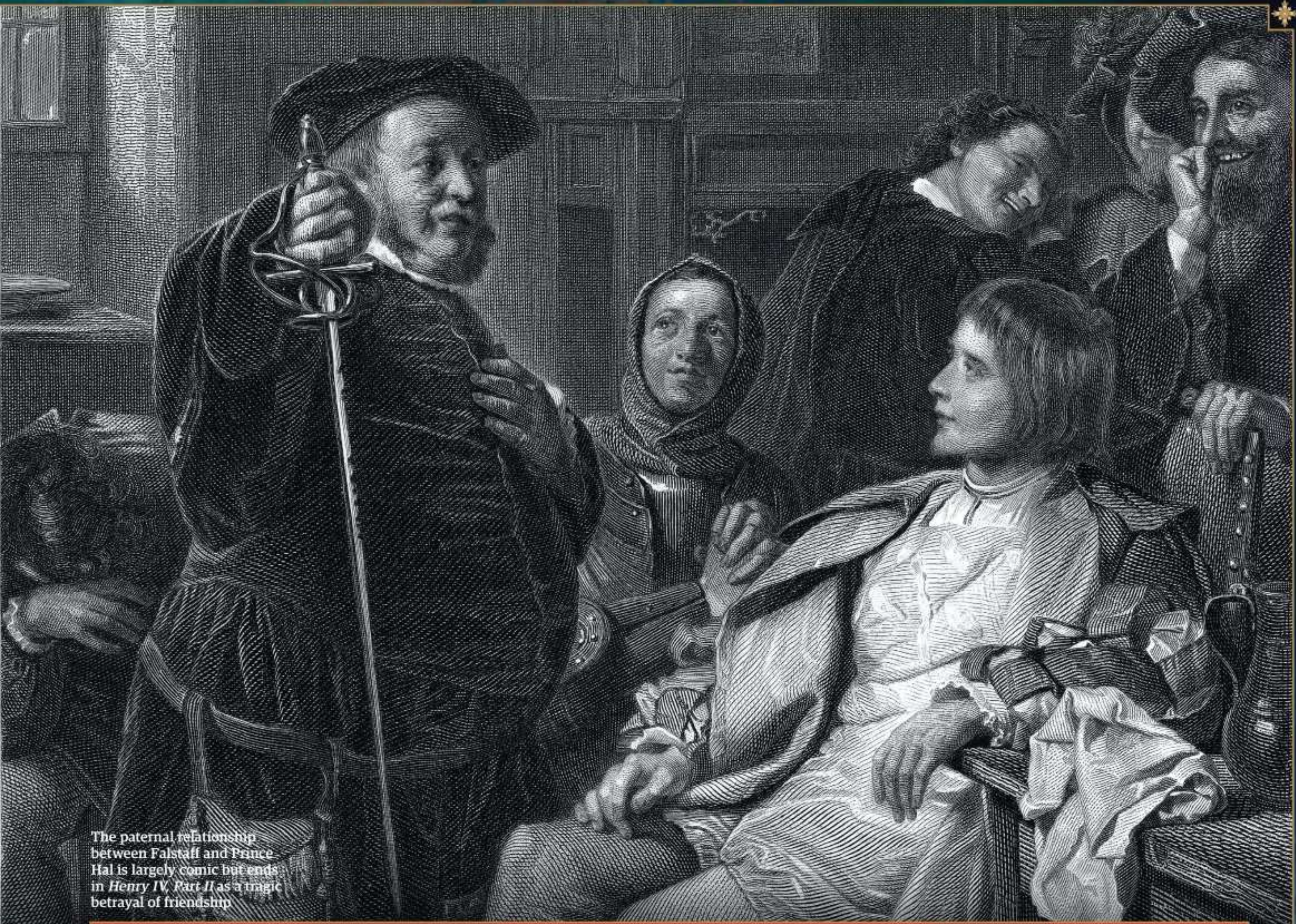
While Henry was in Wales, civil war was brewing in England between Henry IV and the Percy family. The latter had won a decisive victory against the Scots at the Battle of Homildon Hill but the king demanded that their prisoners be handed over for ransom. Hotspur refused and repeated a claim that the Percies were funding Henry IV's campaigns in both Scotland and Wales. He also reminded the king about paying Mortimer's ransom but when this was not done, Mortimer defected to Glyndŵr.

Henry IV attempted to reconcile with the Percies but Hotspur raised his standard against him at Chester in July 1403. He accused the king of failing to ransom Mortimer or negotiate a truce with Glyndŵr, as well as charges of illegal taxes and corruption. Despite his decisive support during the usurpation, Hotspur withdrew his support of Henry IV as king and intended to seize the crown and restore it to Richard II's designated heir, the young Earl of March.

Hotspur planned a conspiracy where his forces at Chester would be joined by two armies: one from the north commanded by his father and the other from the west led by



A statue of Prince Hal in Stratford-upon-Avon, Warwickshire. Shakespeare made him a major character in three of his plays: *Henry IV Parts I & II* and *Henry V*



The paternal relationship between Falstaff and Prince Hal is largely comic but ends in *Henry IV, Part II* as a tragic betrayal of friendship

THE TRUTH ABOUT FALSTAFF AND PRINCE HAL

William Shakespeare immortalised Henry's youth by depicting a fictional friendship with a disreputable knight

Sir John Falstaff is one of the most famous comic characters in English literature. A fat, vain, cowardly knight who is contemptuous of honourable virtues, Falstaff dominates the two *Henry IV* plays. He also acts as a "father ruffian" figure to the future Henry V, who is known in the plays as Prince Hal. Falstaff introduces Hal to a hedonistic lifestyle amongst the commoners of Eastcheap, London. Shakespeare's depiction popularised the notion that Henry had a riotous youth before he adopted the serious mantle of kingship. It is a dramatically rich tale – but the reality is quite different.

Falstaff was a fictional creation of Shakespeare's, although he was loosely drawn from two of Henry's contemporaries: Sir John Oldcastle and Sir John Fastolf. Oldcastle was a trusted supporter of Henry who was eventually executed for leading a revolt of heretical proto-Protestants known as Lollards. Meanwhile, Fastolf served as a soldier in Henry V's campaigns in Normandy but was later accused of cowardice after being defeated by Joan of Arc's forces. In truth, little links the two men to Falstaff beyond names and tenuous historical influences. The same is true for the interpretation of Hal.

Henry's military role in Wales did become limited after 1408 and he spent more time in London. Relations with his father Henry IV were bad and historical sources imply that he possibly lived beyond his means. Nevertheless, evidence for his wild behaviour is based on speculation. Published comments that fuelled the rumours only appeared after his death but they were drawn by people who knew him. One contemporary chronicler called Thomas Elmham probably had links with men who knew Henry and may have been one of his royal chaplains.

In his book *Pseudo-Elmham*, Elmham spoke of his memory of Prince Henry as "an assiduous pursuer of fun, devoted to organ instruments (a medieval double-entendre) which relaxed the rein on his modesty; although under the military service of Mars, he seethed youthfully with the flames of Venus too, and tended to be open to other novelties as befitted the age of his untamed youth".

This description does not fit with other contemporary works that adulated Henry but Elmham's possible connections to the king adds some credence and may reveal an intriguing kernel of truth that might lie behind the legendary tale.

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Image source: wiki/ Rasiel Suarez

A medieval coin depicting Henry V

Glyndŵr. They aimed to seize Prince Henry, who had recently returned to Shrewsbury Castle in Shropshire. Their scheme might have succeeded if Henry IV had not rushed to reach Shrewsbury a few hours before Hotspur. With the royal forces now united, battle was met against the rebels three miles north of Shrewsbury on 21 July 1403.

This engagement was unusual. Medieval battlefield clashes were relatively rare and it would see two English armies of deadly longbowmen fighting each other for the first time. Henry, who was still only 16, commanded the vanguard of his father's left flank but it was his first experience of only two pitched battles in his life - the other being Agincourt.

The Battle of Shrewsbury was a particularly grim affair. Henry IV's attempts to negotiate with Hotspur were rebuffed and 11,000-14,000 royal troops faced 5,000-10,000 rebels. When the king raised his sword, the battle began with huge volleys of arrows on both sides. Hotspur's men included renowned Cheshire archers who had previously been Richard II's elite troops. They pointedly wore the dead monarch's white hart badge and caused so much damage among Henry IV's men that - according to the chronicler Thomas Walsingham - arrows "fell like leaves that fall in the cold weather after frost".

One victim of the archers' accuracy was Prince Henry, who was "wounded in the face when hit by an arrow". This detail is interesting because he would usually have had his face protected by a helmet. It appears that he lifted his visor, either for air or better vision, and was injured in the process. Nevertheless, Henry fought on, with Walsingham writing, "Boy though he was, he did not falter, but with courage beyond his years, disregarding his wounds, cheered on his troops to vengeance."

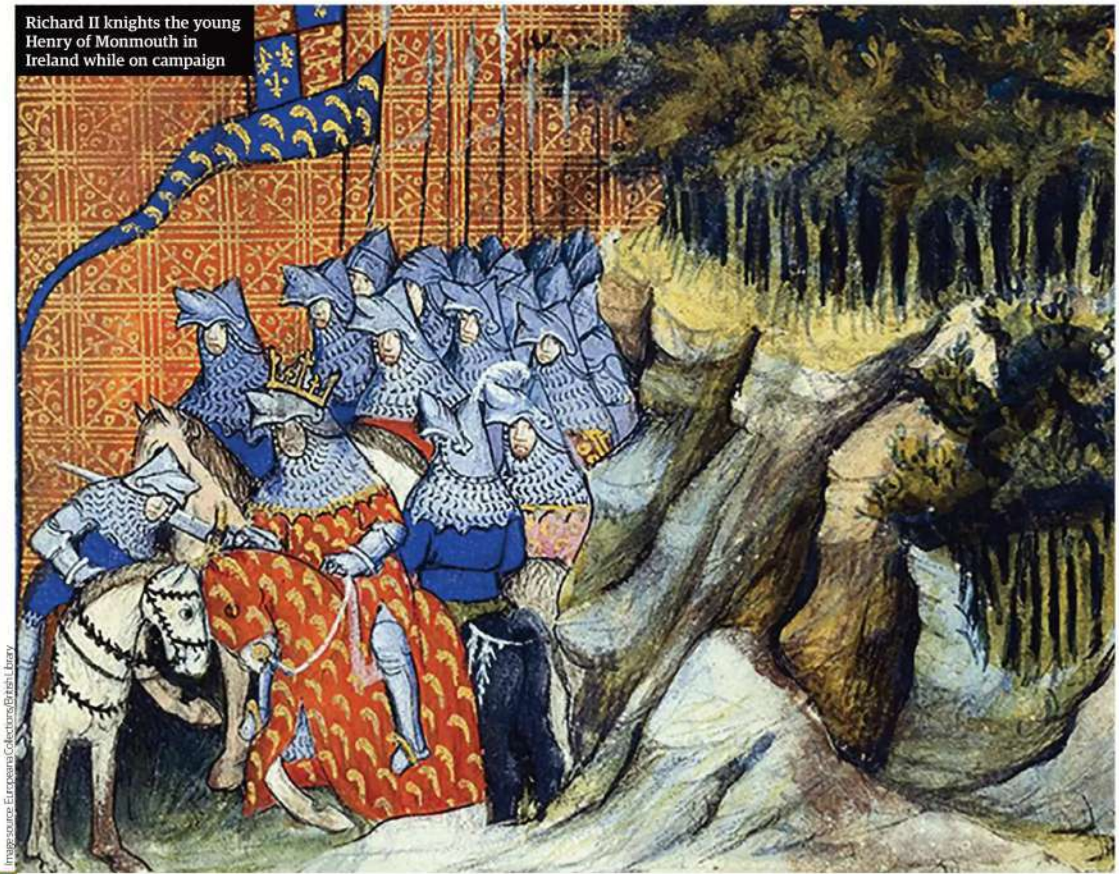
Despite his wound and the rebel archers, the king's army also fought hard and the prince's force broke through the rebel flank. Henry IV himself was in considerable danger and deployed several decoys in his royal livery among his troops. Hotspur was determined to kill the king and reputedly killed several of these decoys before he was felled by an unknown soldier.

> "FOR A SOCIETY WHERE MARTIAL PROWESS WAS PRIZED, HENRY HAD NOT DISAPPOINTED"

Hotspur's death ended the battle but it was a hard-won success for Henry IV. The rebels had been close to winning and "so scattered was the field that when night fell, and the two armies separated, neither knew which had the victory, and they lay down in mixed heaps, weary and beaten and bleeding". The king had kept his throne, but only just.

ABERYSTWYTH

Prince Henry recovered from his wound but its severity meant that he withdrew from campaigning until the end of the year. Nevertheless, he had proved himself in battle, which persuaded his father to give him more control to suppress the Welsh rebels. Despite the destruction of Hotspur, Glyndŵr gained more control of Wales and was at the height of his powers during 1404-05. The major castles of Harlech and Aberystwyth were captured and Glyndŵr assumed the trappings of royal independence. He held a Welsh parliament, was



Richard II knights the young Henry of Monmouth in Ireland while on campaign

Image source: Europeana Collections/British Library

The Battle of Shrewsbury was famously depicted in Orson Welles's acclaimed 1965 Shakespearean film *Chimes At Midnight*. Henry was portrayed as Prince Hal by Keith Baxter crowned as Prince of Wales and even gained French military support.

It took years to break the power of Glyndŵr but Prince Henry pacified Wales by changing the English strategy. The French departed and castles were gradually recaptured and garrisoned, which created a blockade that squeezed Glyndŵr's resources. The prince also liberally issued pardons to rebels, which greatly depleted their numbers. By 1407 Glyndŵr was confined to the mountainous centre and west of Wales. Nevertheless, the fortresses of Harlech and Aberystwyth held out. Henry himself travelled with a substantial force of ships and siege engines to invest Aberystwyth Castle in the summer of 1407.

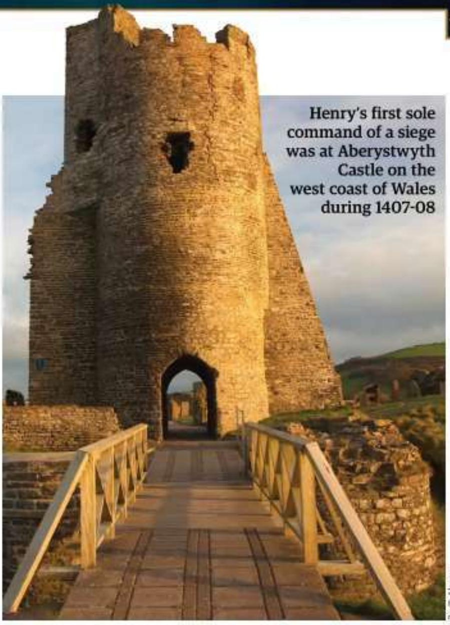
Prince Henry's artillery was ineffective against Aberystwyth's walls and he was reduced to trying to starve the garrison into surrender. After that failed, Henry returned to England during the winter of 1407-08 while Glyndŵr snuck into the castle in his absence. This was a mistake on Henry's part and when he returned to resume the siege in summer 1408, Glyndŵr had gone. The castle eventually surrendered but Harlech did not fall until 1409.

By now, Henry had been intermittently fighting in Wales for almost a decade, but his blockades and pardons eventually caused the revolt to peter out. Glyndŵr himself was never captured and disappeared sometime after 1412. Despite the often lacklustre English campaigning, the king's heir was now undisputedly Prince of Wales.

FORMATIVE TRAINING

When Henry finally captured Aberystwyth he was only 21 but he had spent years defending his father's throne. From 1408, his energies were diverted onto the political scene as he consolidated his position before he succeeded Henry IV as king in 1413. Nevertheless, his military apprenticeship in Ireland, Wales and at Shrewsbury was critical in forming Henry as a warrior king.

For a society where martial prowess was prized, Henry had not disappointed. He made mistakes, particularly at Aberystwyth, but he'd learned how to fight, develop tactics and manage armies. He'd been severely wounded, besieged castles, suffered the privations of campaigning and in Hotspur he had even fought a former mentor. Above all, he'd demonstrated leadership skills and shown great courage on the battlefield, which was vital for earning the respect of his men. These were all valuable experiences and served to turn Henry into a rounded general. It's perhaps not surprising that by the time he faced the French at Agincourt, Henry V did not fight as a youthful king but as a battle-hardened veteran.



Henry's first sole command of a siege was at Aberystwyth Castle on the west coast of Wales during 1407-08

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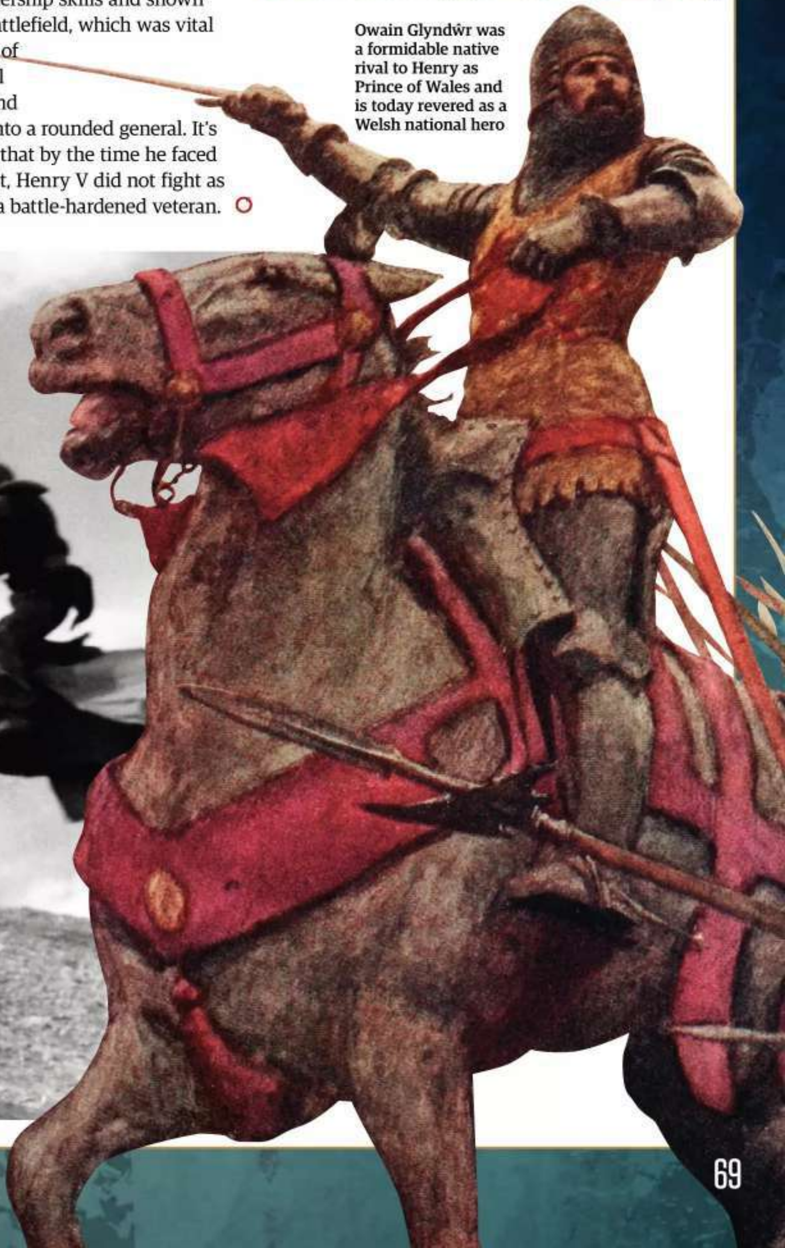
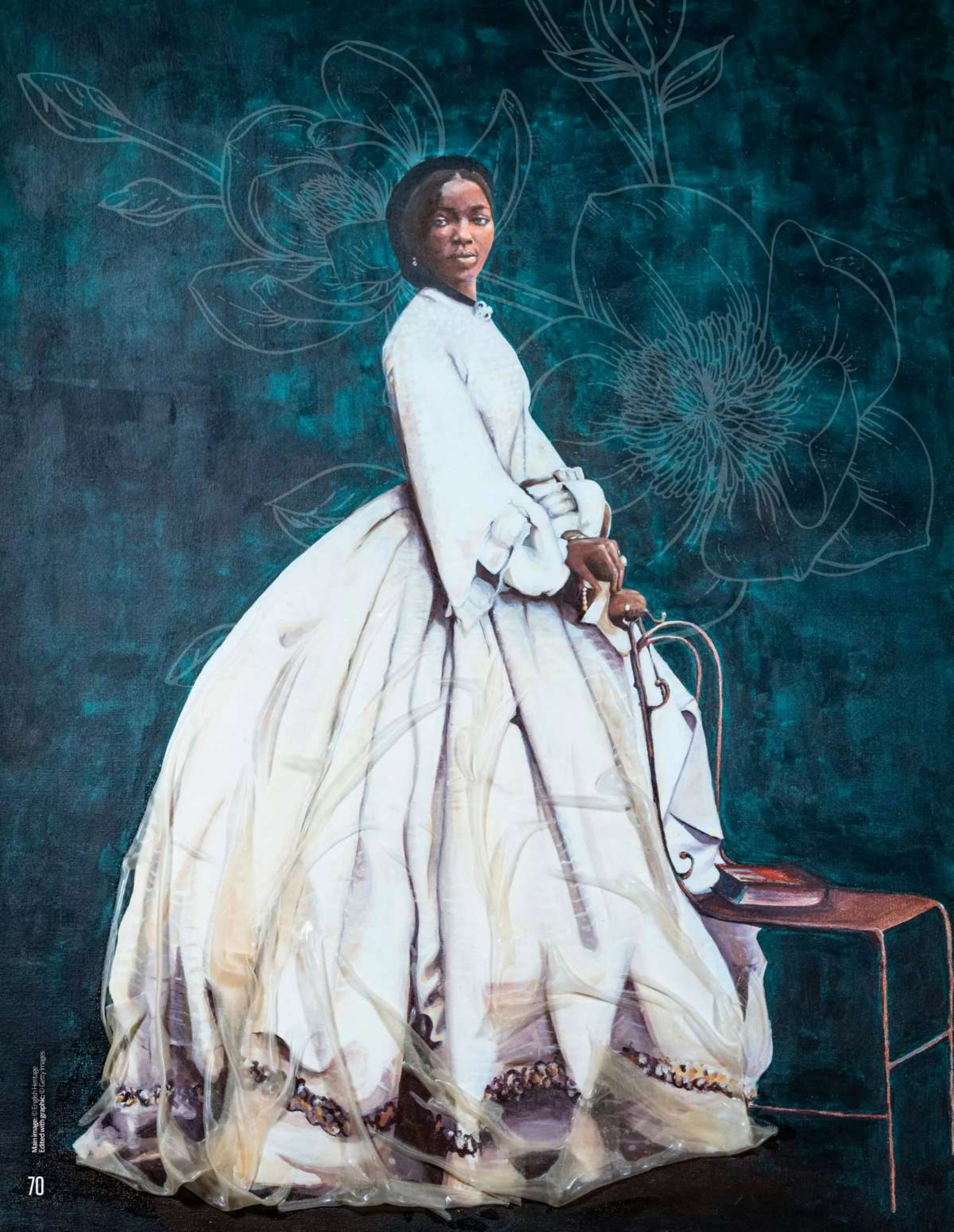


Owain Glyndŵr was a formidable native rival to Henry as Prince of Wales and is today revered as a Welsh national hero



Main image: © English Heritage
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Queen Victoria's Black Goddaughter

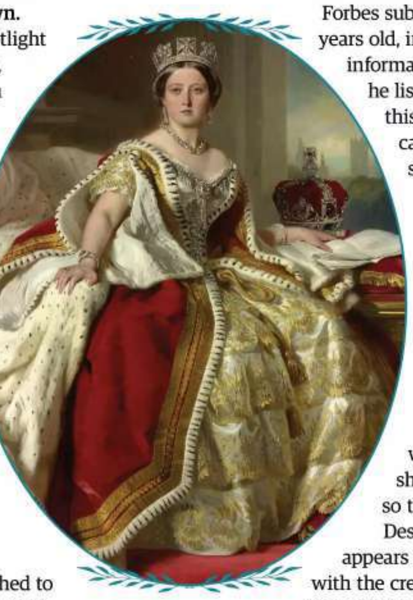
The unbelievable story of Sarah Forbes Bonetta, the captive African girl who became a royal protégée

Written by Jessica Leggett

Even though Sarah Forbes Bonetta, the black goddaughter of Queen Victoria, had a remarkable life, it's not widely known. However, it's been brought into the spotlight thanks to a project by English Heritage, and we spoke to Anna Eavis, curatorial director of English Heritage, to learn more about Sarah's story.

She was born in West Africa, in the south-west of modern-day Nigeria, in around 1843. When she was about five, her life was upended when the forces of King Gezo of Dahomey (located within present-day Benin) raided her home, murdered her parents and took her captive. "The king of Dahomey was still participating in slaving, so he was working with a Portuguese slave trader who would take captured people and sell them on," explains Eavis. "Sarah was not transported anywhere as she was five years old and she was kept at the king's court, presumably to later become a slave there, but we don't know that."

Meanwhile Britain – one of the most successful and dominant countries involved in the transatlantic slave trade – had finally abolished it throughout its empire with the Slavery Abolition Act of 1833. Twenty-five years earlier, the West Africa Squadron (WAS) had been established to patrol the coasts of West Africa to suppress the slave traders in the Atlantic. To this end, British naval captain Frederick Forbes of the WAS visited Dahomey twice, in 1849 and 1850, to persuade King Gezo to stop participating in the slave trade. Although Forbes failed in his mission, the king offered him a girl – Sarah – to take back with him as a diplomatic gift for Queen Victoria.



ABOVE
Queen Victoria agreed to take care of Sarah's welfare and education
Image source: wiki/The Royal Collection

Forbes subsequently wrote about Sarah, who was now seven years old, in his accounts and diaries, providing us with some information on her. "They are very jarring accounts because he lists the gifts that he's taking back and he describes this captive girl included in this list of other things, like carpet and some kegs of rum and so on. It's appalling," says Eavis. "On the other hand, he's kindly towards her and he has her baptised before they set sail to come back to England."

Not only was Forbes responsible for Sarah's baptism and taking her to Britain, but he also chose her name. "The name Forbes Bonetta is partly his surname, Forbes, and Bonetta is the name of his ship, so he concocts that surname. I don't know how he arrived at Sarah, but that's how she gets the name by which she's then known," says Eavis. Do we know what Sarah's birth name was? Eavis explains that "on her marriage certificate she wrote her European name but also the name 'Aina', so the assumption is that was her real name".

Despite facing more upheaval in her young life, Sarah appears to have settled on the ship and she was popular with the crew – by the time she arrived in England she was even able to speak some English. Eavis states that Forbes was very impressed with Sarah: "He felt that she was much more intelligent and she had a much better attitude to learning than most White children."

A few months after arriving in Britain, Forbes presented Sarah to Queen Victoria on 9 November 1850. The queen describes meeting Sarah - whom she calls 'Sally' - in her journal: "She is seven years old, sharp and intelligent, and speaks English. She was dressed as any other girl. When her bonnet was taken off, her little black woolly head and big earrings gave her the true negro type."

After that meeting, Queen Victoria agreed to take Sarah under her wing, provide for her welfare and fund her education. "I think both Forbes and Queen Victoria and, later on, other White people like her because she's really intelligent and I think that this surprises them, to be honest. They're not expecting a Black African girl to be as accomplished and capable of education as she is, and so they're really keen to support her," says Eavis.

In 1851, Sarah was sent to the Church Missionary Society school in Freetown, Sierra Leone, because, according to Eavis, "It was believed then that the English climate would be difficult for somebody of African origins." This particular school was chosen because both Forbes and the queen believed that Sarah would make an ideal missionary, at a time when missionaries were being sent to Africa to Christianise Africans.

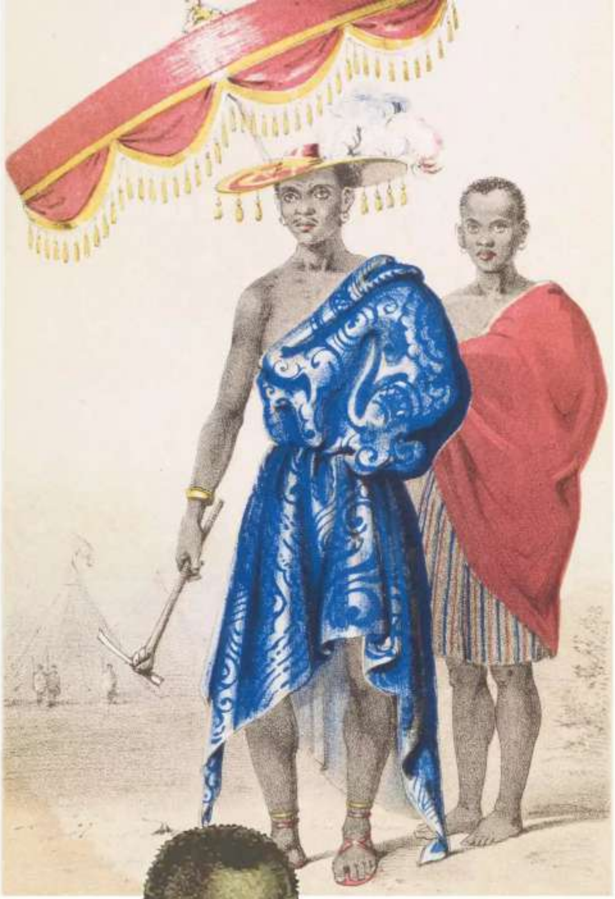
Sarah became very accomplished during her time at the missionary school but she reportedly disliked being there. After four years she returned to Britain, where she paid another visit to the queen, and it's said that she got on well with the royal children. Eventually, she was placed in the care of Miss Sophia Welsh in Brighton, who oversaw Sarah's introduction into British society.

> "Sarah's extraordinary life tells us a lot about how Victorian attitudes to race and cultural identity are being shaped during this period"

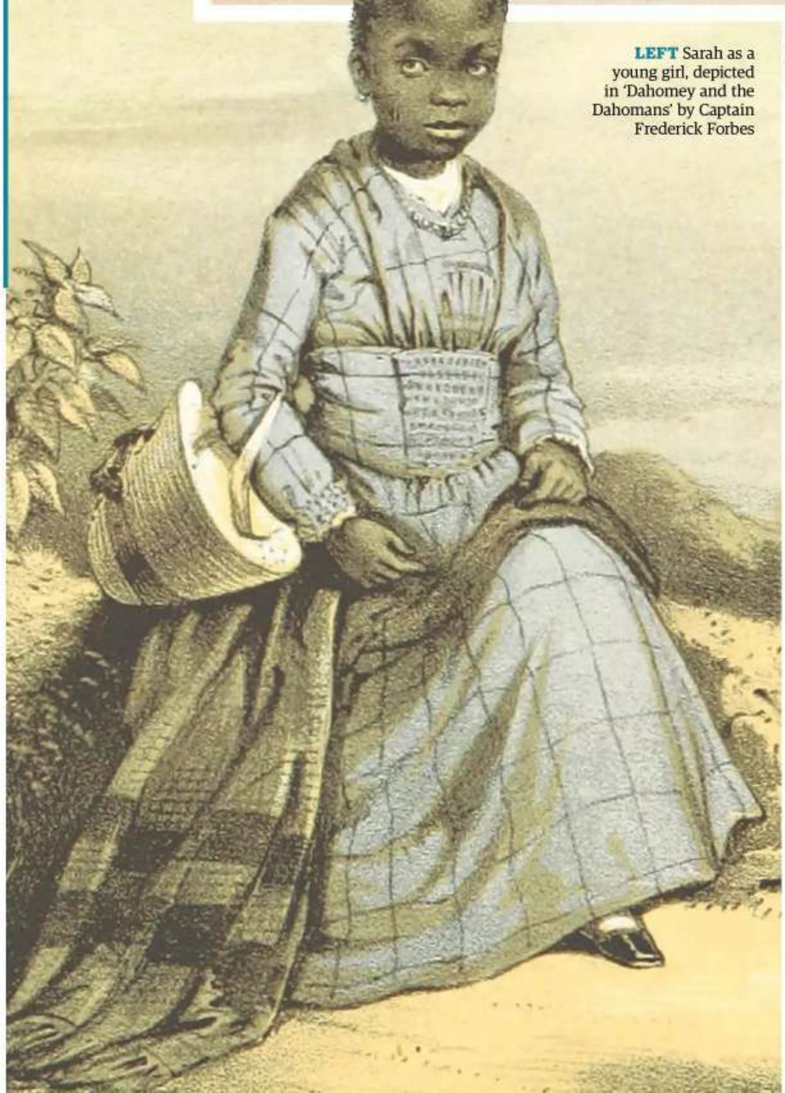
When she was 19, Sarah was approached by James Davies, a 33-year-old widower and merchant from Sierra Leone, who wanted to marry her. He had also been taught at the Christian Missionary Society school and it's thought that they were introduced to each other there, although they barely knew one another. "She didn't really want to marry him and others said, 'You'll learn to love him and he's well off, he's a good catch.' Her reaction was, 'Am I to barter my peace of mind for money? No!'" says Eavis.

Even though Sarah was not keen on marrying Davies, the marriage was deemed favourable and it was approved by Queen Victoria. The couple wed in a lavish ceremony in Brighton on 14 August 1862, with crowds reportedly lining up outside to catch sight of them. "At their wedding... representatives of the Church Missionary Society were there and they spoke about this wonderful moment. There was a great deal of publicity about the wedding in the colonial national press, presenting this union as an example of the great benefit of a Christian education," explains Eavis.

After their wedding, Sarah and her husband were photographed by Camille Silvy in London. Silvy was known for being a celebrity photographer who boasted Queen Victoria as a patron, so the fact that he photographed the newlyweds demonstrates their status in society. The couple moved to Sierra Leone and later to Lagos, where they had three children together over the next decade. Sarah named her eldest daughter Victoria after the queen,



RIGHT A drawing of King Gezo from 'Dahomey and the Dahomans' by Captain Frederick Forbes



LEFT Sarah as a young girl, depicted in 'Dahomey and the Dahomans' by Captain Frederick Forbes

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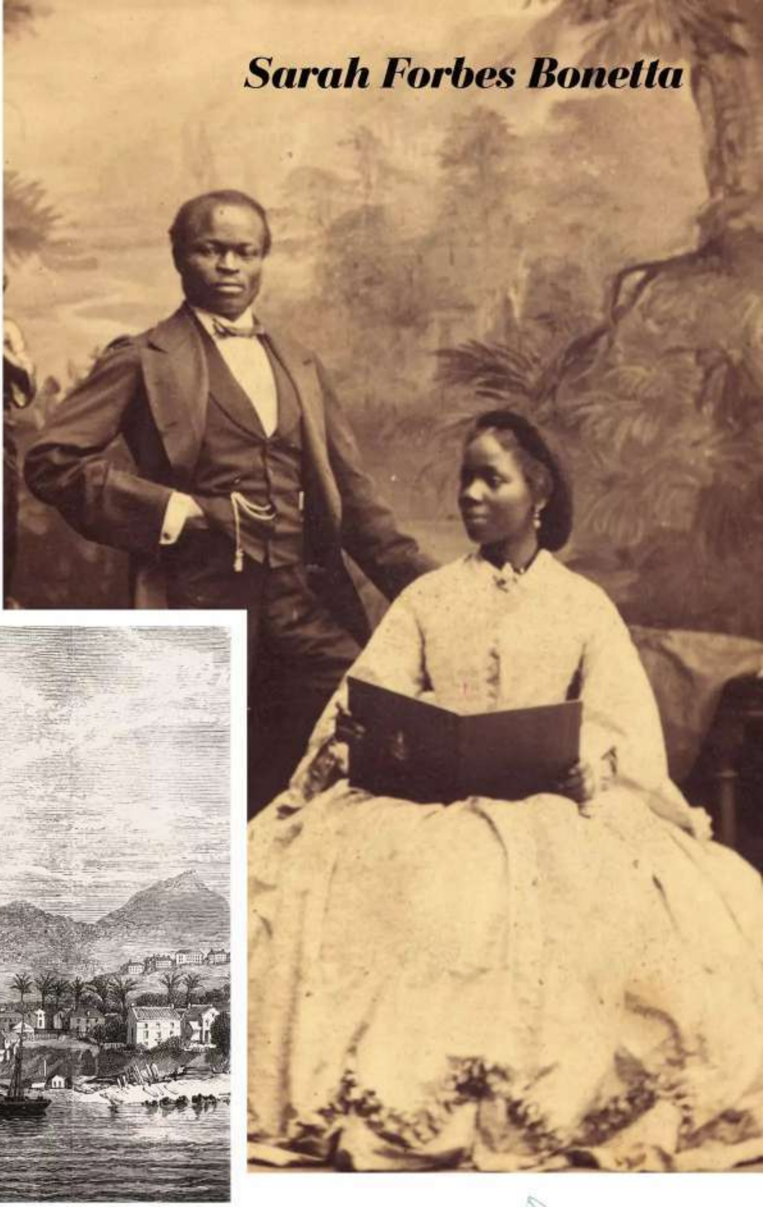
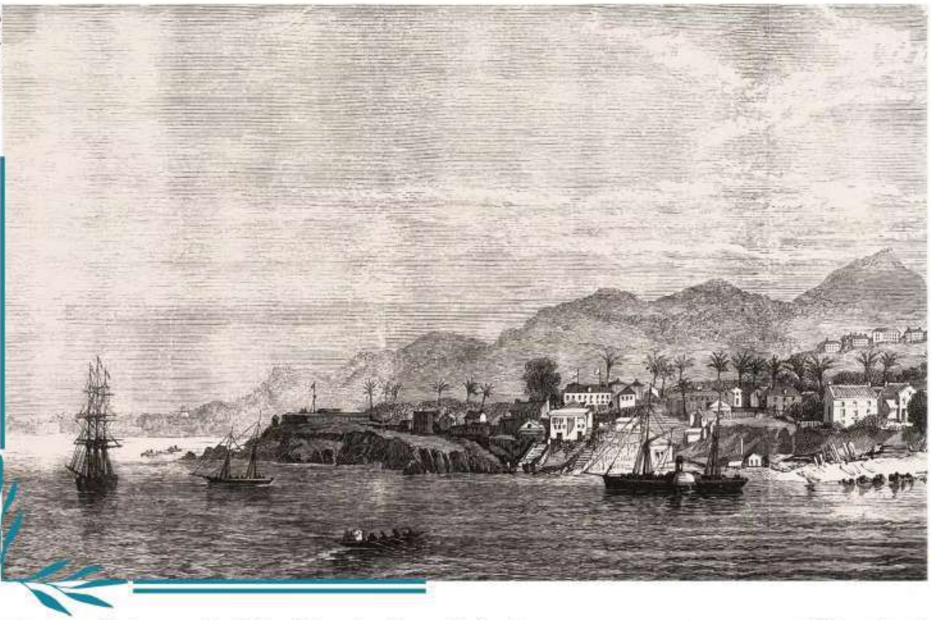
© English Heritage



ABOVE
Artist Hannah Uzor beside her painting of Sarah, on display at Osborne House

BELOW
Sarah was educated in Freetown, Sierra Leone

RIGHT
Sarah and her husband James, photographed by Camille Silvy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who agreed to become the little girl's godmother, with Sarah returning to Britain and presenting her daughter to the monarch in December 1867.

Unfortunately, by the late 1860s it was clear that Sarah was suffering from tuberculosis and she moved to Madeira in the hope that the climate would improve her health. Sadly, she succumbed to her illness on 15 August 1880, at the age of just 37. Her daughter, Victoria, heard the news while on her way to see the queen at Osborne House. Queen Victoria later wrote that she "saw poor Victoria Davies, my black godchild, now 17, who heard this morning of the death of her dear mother at Madeira".

Although it was tragically cut short, Sarah's extraordinary life tells us a lot about how Victorian attitudes to race and cultural identity were shaped during this period. "I think the fact that it is happening at the moment after Britain has abolished slavery in its empire is really important because what we're seeing from Forbes, the queen and the Church Missionary Society is a kind of benign interest. Yet that in itself is fraught with some underlying assumptions about Black Africans which are actually very uncomfortable," says Eavis.

To many people, Sarah's education and accomplishments were a social experiment to demonstrate how Africans could become 'civilised' through British guidance and Christian education. "She was very musical, had a beautiful singing and speaking voice, was great company, multilingual and very intelligent – and the Church Missionary Society was very proud of that," says Eavis.

Sarah's life was not only a matter of interest in Britain but also across the Atlantic. "She was held up as a sort of poster girl, not only by the Church Missionary Society but by campaigners for abolition in the States, who were pointing to her and saying look, Black people should be educated and look at what can be achieved – that was coming from Black American abolitionists. So it's a complex picture in terms of the range of attitudes to Sarah and that complexity is really important to reflect on," says Eavis.

Many people are now discovering Sarah's story thanks to English Heritage's project to display paintings of 'overlooked' Black figures connected with its properties. A new portrait of Sarah, in her wedding dress, has been painted by artist Hannah Uzor and is now on display at Osborne House on the Isle of Wight, the former holiday home of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert.

About the importance of this project, Eavis states, "We did some research a few years ago partly about slave trade links to our sites but also looking at the evidence for Black presence at our sites, and that work revealed a number of names... We wanted to build on that and feel that it's important to be giving visibility to the historic presence of Black people in this country because there are many assumptions about the degree to which British society did have people of colour in it historically." ○

Mehmed II: The Ottoman Caesar

How the Ottoman leader conquered Constantinople and brought an end to Christendom in the East

Written by Jem Duducu

A Seljuk Turk by the name of Osman (born in 1258) is the man regarded as the founder of the Ottoman Empire. His name is sometimes spelt Ottman or Othman, hence the term 'Ottoman'. The Seljuks came from the Asiatic steppes and had been in Anatolia for generations by the late 1290s. Had Osman tried to establish his powerbase 50 years earlier or later, the political landscape would likely have been quite stable, so any attempt at building his own independent realm would have been quickly extinguished. More than anything else, Osman was the right guy in the right place at the right time.

It took Osman until 1280 to receive the recognition of more powerful Seljuk chieftains to officially head his family and become a bey (chieftain). From that time until he died in 1323/24, he greatly expanded the lands under his control, almost exclusively to the detriment of the ever-weakening Byzantine Empire. Osman must have calculated that he wasn't yet powerful enough to challenge the larger powers to the east, so he nibbled away at the Byzantine hinterland – and there wasn't much the Byzantine rulers could do about it. But they did try. In 1302, the Byzantines sent a small army in an attempt to curb Osman's advances. The two sides met at the Battle of Bapheus, near the Byzantine city of Nicomedia, where Osman's cavalry made short work of the smaller Byzantine force.

The fight between the Byzantine Empire and the expanding Ottomans was never seen through the lens of Muslim versus Christian. Instead, the conflict was a pragmatic political reality. Both powers were weak and in no position to fight larger threats, but almost in the shadows the Ottomans continued to grow at the expense of the Byzantine Empire. Their power was solidified in 1326 when, after a nine-year siege, the Ottomans finally captured their first major Byzantine town of Bursa and made it their second capital (Söğüt was the first, a small town in western Anatolia that wouldn't be worth even a footnote in history if it wasn't for the fact that it was here that Osman consolidated his power, and as a consequence, it became the first Ottoman capital). Bursa's importance can be seen in the fact that this was where Osman and all the Ottoman rulers prior to Mehmed II were buried (even after Edirne, or Adrianople as it was known in the West, became the third capital). That it took nine years of slowly starving the population showed how rudimentary the horse-archer based army of the early Ottomans was when fighting fixed positions.

Fast-forwarding to the middle of the 15th century, we see that the Ottomans had learned not only about conquering but about the people they had conquered. And as their lands expanded, so too did their wealth, which allowed the latest military and other advances to be implemented. It was in this ▶

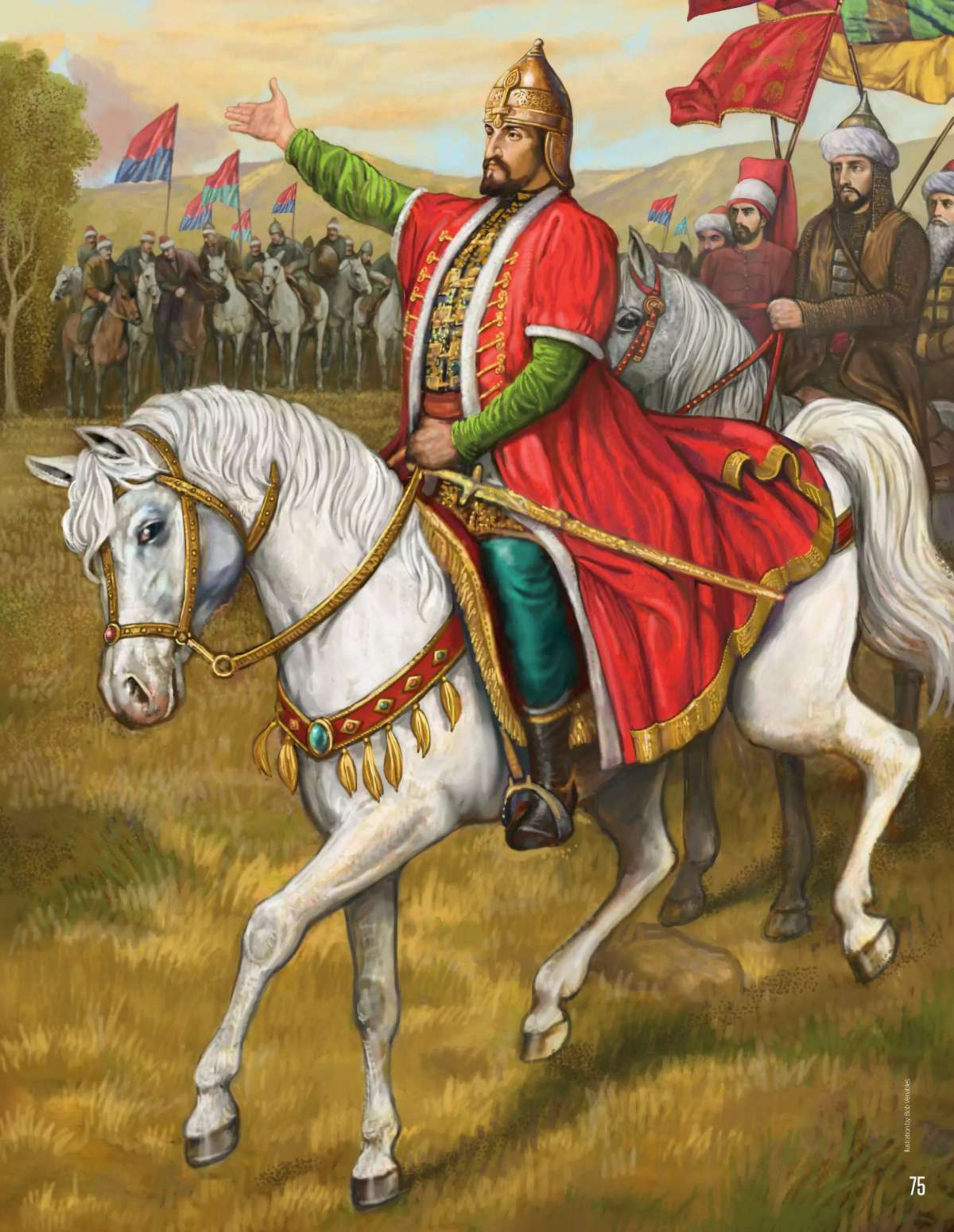


Illustration by: Bob Venables

heady era of successful rule that Mehmed II emerged to do what no one had ever done before.

Murad II was the father of Mehmed II and had retired in favour of Mehmed, who became the youngest sultan at the age of 12. However, due to threats of war, Murad retook the reins of power and ruled for a few more years to allow his son to mature in the role. When Mehmed became sultan, technically for a second time, he was in possession of a very large empire. Belgrade (yet to be conquered) marked its western frontier, with about two-thirds of Anatolia under his direct rule. However, in the very centre of his empire was a glaring anomaly, one that was still in the hands of the old enemy Byzantium. Many earlier Ottoman sultans had besieged Constantinople and all had failed. Mehmed II intended to succeed.

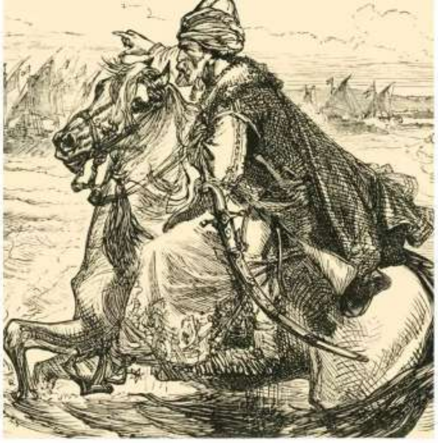
Constantinople was the prize, and in a Muslim context it was the ultimate prize. The holy book of Islam is the *Qu'ran*, but there is ancillary information about the Prophet Muhammad's life called the *Hadiths*. These are a collection of sayings attributed to the Prophet and expand on the central religious text. One of the most famous *Hadiths* declares that the greatest general in history will be the one who conquerors Constantinople, and by 1453, these words had echoed down the centuries, a challenge from the earliest days of Islam to the Muslim leaders who came later. The thick walls of the city had thwarted armies from many cultures and eras and remained standing. Constantinople was a prize to all, but if a Muslim leader conquered the city, the deed would link him to the very words of the Prophet himself. While this must have been on the mind of the Sultan Mehmed II (just 21 in 1453), it was more worldly considerations that drove the campaign.

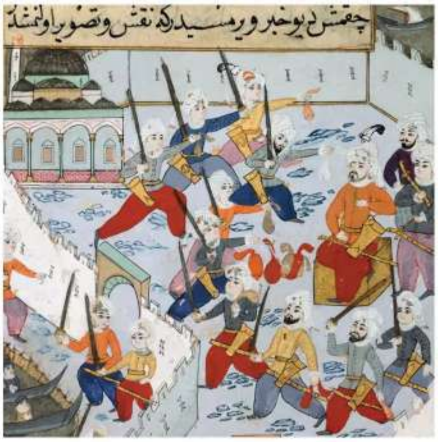
> "The pope sent a small fleet to aid Constantinople, but it was never going to be enough"

Mehmed spent over a year preparing to conquer the city, and no expense was spared. Of all the possible military expenditures, armies are the cheapest. It is telling that the requirements for this army were the last item on Mehmed's list. Instead, while he was constructing a new fort a short distance from Constantinople, he was investing in the navy and the newest, biggest siege guns to breach the walls that had stood for more than a thousand years. All of this was eye-wateringly expensive and shows that his was a carefully crafted plan to remove this thorn in the side of the Ottomans and to defeat the Byzantine Empire once and for all.

Constantine XI was the last Byzantine emperor and is an example of how complex the situation had become for any Christian lands in the vicinity of the Ottoman Empire. The Isthmus of Corinth is the narrow stretch of land that connects the Peloponnese peninsula with the rest of mainland Greece. It was here that a young Prince Constantine built a wall across the isthmus, giving him a strategic advantage when he launched an attack on the Duchy of Athens in 1444. At the time the duchy was ruled by Florence, not Greece, and rather than being a Byzantine ally, the duchy was an Ottoman vassal state. So there were Greeks fighting Italians in Greece...

Constantine won, but this provoked Murad II. Constantine tried to use diplomacy to defuse the situation, but after stopping the immediate threat of an invasion from the west, Murad II wanted to show everyone who was really boss and attacked Constantine in 1446. He broke down the wall across the isthmus that Constantine had so carefully constructed and 60,000 Ottoman troops poured through. Constantine barely made it out alive.





TOP Determined Mehmed II spent over a year, and vast sums, planning his attack on the city

ABOVE The siege only lasted eight weeks before Constantinople fell to the Ottomans

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Image source: Wiki/Gallica Digital Library

Jewel of Constantinople

From church to mosque, this building had a massive influence on architecture

Built in the 6th century CE by the Byzantine Emperor Justinian, the Hagia Sophia (Saint Sophia) was the world's largest church for nearly 1,000 years. It was the centrepiece of his power in his capital of Constantinople.

To the modern eye, the Hagia Sophia looks like a mosque. Prior to 1453, there had been some mosques with domes but most had open courtyards. But after 1453, this magnificent church became a magnificent mosque, one that heavily influenced Islamic architecture, so that subsequent mosques were made to look like an ancient church, not the other way around. The Hagia Sophia was already 500 years old by the time the Ottoman architect Sinan recognised that the structure was collapsing and added buttresses, which is why it still stands today.

So, after serving Christians for nearly a millennium, Saint Sophia became one of the Islamic world's largest and most venerable mosques for the next 450 years. It's also a physical example of how the Ottomans co-opted late Roman iconography into their own empire. Today, it's neither church nor mosque but a museum in the city of Istanbul.

Things became even more counterintuitive in 1448. The Byzantine Emperor John VIII Palaiologos died without an heir. Several men, including Constantine (Palaiologo's younger brother), asked Murad II for help to claim the Byzantine throne. Despite what had happened a few years earlier, Murad II backed Constantine and, in January 1449, he became the new Byzantine Emperor Constantine XI. After Murad II died, he threatened to release one of Mehmed II's brothers (Orhan was being held as the result of a prisoner exchange), a threat which if carried out could trigger another Ottoman civil war (It was often the case that when the sultan died, a power struggle broke out amongst claimants). It was the only threat with any bite the Byzantines had left, but it was made from too weak a position and served as the pretext Mehmed II needed to mobilise his forces. While it's true that he was going to attack anyway, he was a man of faith and wouldn't have broken a truce arbitrarily. Instead, Constantine XI played into his hands.

With the sounds of war in the air, Constantine XI looked to the West for help and offered the same reward as many emperors had done before: the reunification of the Christian churches. Nicholas V was pope at the time and he genuinely wanted to help Constantinople; however, Europe was in its usual divided state, and with two recent devastating defeats at the hands of the Ottomans, there was little appetite to assist. On 12 December 1452, the Catholic and Orthodox churches were reunited, but it didn't last even 12 months. Nevertheless, given the previous 400 years of acrimony, it was a remarkable achievement even if the preaching of a crusade ultimately came to nothing. Pope Nicholas V ended up sending a small fleet to aid Constantinople, but it was never going to be enough to tip the balance of power.

Interestingly, Mehmed II wanted the city but not the bloodshed. This can be seen by the fact that his ambassadors

ABOVE Istanbul's Hagia Sophia, built in the 6th century CE, is today a museum

LEFT Mehmed II depicted in the underworld by Guillaume Caoursin in the 1480s

RIGHT Mehmed the Conqueror was still shown to have a softer side, as in this portrait with him holding a rose

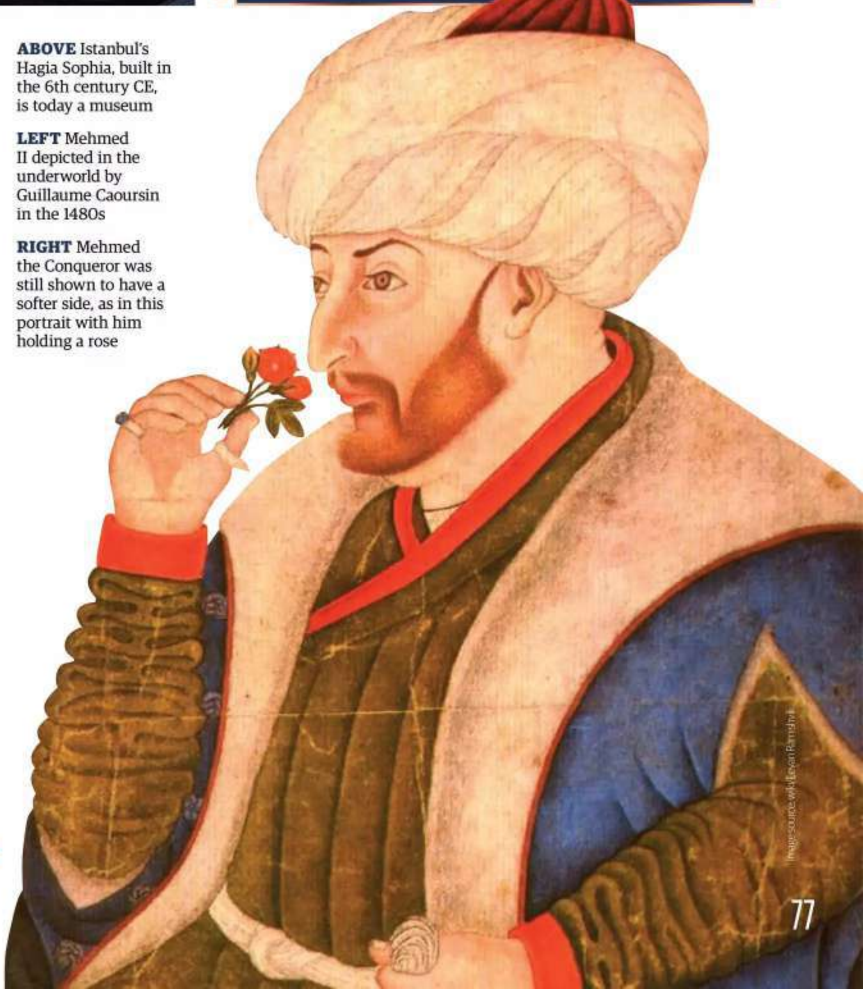
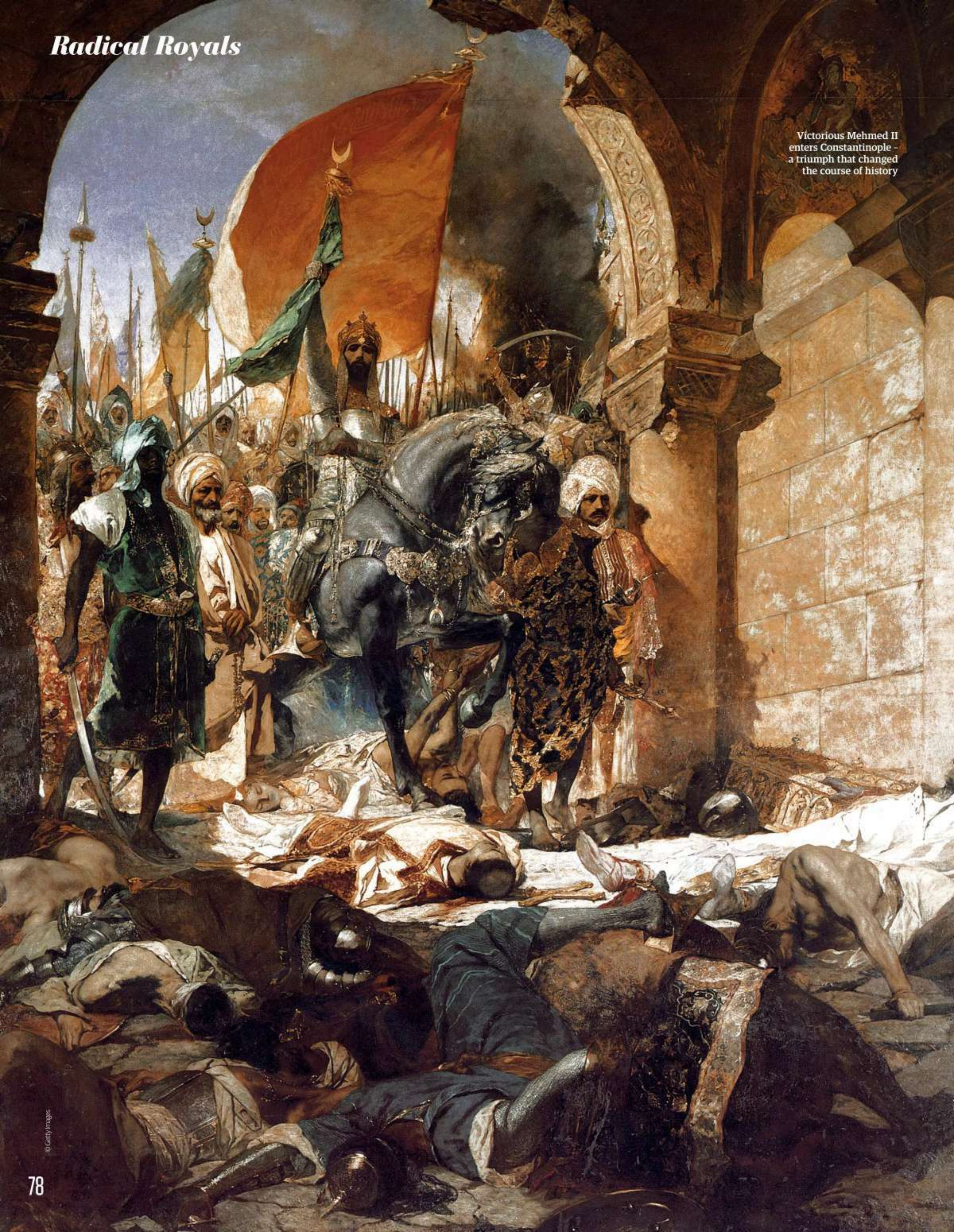


Image source: wiki/Levan Ramishvili



Victorious Mehmed II enters Constantinople - a triumph that changed the course of history

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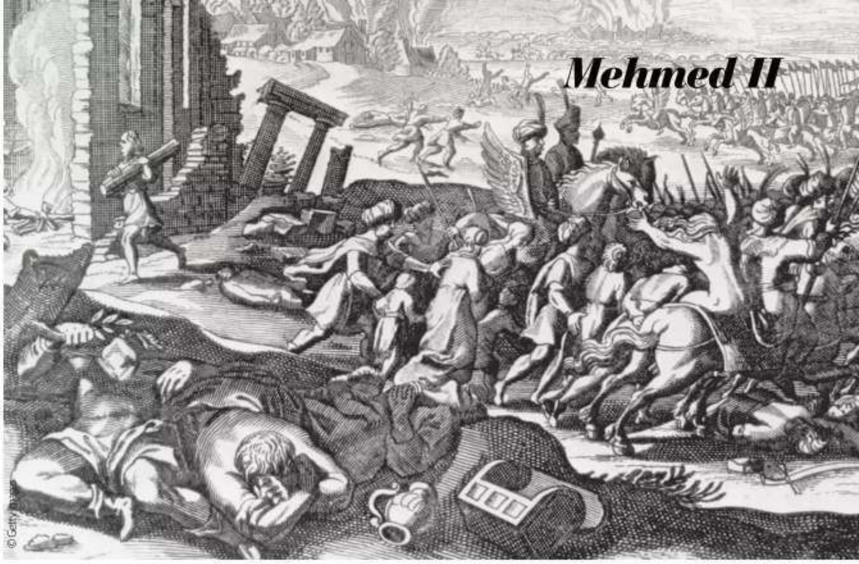

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ABOVE The Ottomans sacked Constantinople in 1453, marking the end of the Byzantine Empire

> "To surrender the city is beyond my authority. We shall die out of free will without sparing our lives"

approached Constantine with a generous offer: in exchange for the surrender of Constantinople, the emperor's life would be spared, and he could continue to rule in Mistra (southern Greece) as a vassal. His reply has been preserved by Sphrantzes: "To surrender the city to you is beyond my authority or anyone else's who lives in it, for all of us, after taking the mutual decision, shall die out of free will without sparing our lives."

The two sides had now fixed their positions.

The siege took about eight weeks (6 April to 29 May 1453), a remarkably short amount of time, especially considering that this was one of the most famous sieges in history. It is also a salient reminder of how things had changed compared to the nine-year siege of Bursa. The consequences arising from the conquest of Constantinople cannot be overstated. It was, quite literally, the end of Christendom in the East and (arguably) the end of the Roman Empire.

The Byzantine emperors were considered to be Greek by the rest of Europe, however (and somewhat unexpectedly) the Byzantines were proud of their Roman heritage, and even though they had been using Greek as the lingua franca for about 900 years, the emperors believed themselves to be Roman emperors and used the title Caesar. When this Christian Greek Orthodox capital fell, the other great centres of Orthodox Christianity, Kiev and Moscow, picked up the baton. In fact, about 80 years later, the grand princes of Moscow changed their title to the more exalted Tsar, the Russian for Caesar. The fact that the title of Caesar was now legitimately vacant was one of the few things the Ottomans and the Russians would ever agree on, and the Ottoman sultans also added Caesar to their list of titles. But Mehmed II earned another title on the historic day of his conquest, that of Fatih, which simply means 'conqueror' and, like William in England, he was to be the only ruler of his dynasty ever to earn the title.

Constantinople was the first of dozens of successful Ottoman sieges and campaigns led by Fatih Sultan Mehmed, who died at the relatively young age of 49, apparently of natural causes. Or it could be he was just worn out after conducting so many campaigns with such vigour.

Titles in hierarchies are important, as can be shown around 100 years later at another high point in Ottoman history under the rule of Suleiman I. In the West he is often referred to as Suleiman the Magnificent and he certainly was that, but in the East he is known as Suleiman the Lawgiver because he established three parallel legal structures that covered the needs of both his Muslim and non-Muslim subjects and enabled the sensible rule of a polyglot, multi-religious empire.

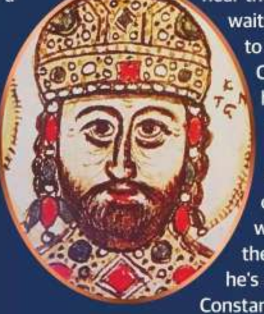
His full list of titles reveals the scope of his powers: "Sultan of the Ottomans, Allah's deputy on Earth, Lord of the Lords of this world, Possessor of men's necks, King of believers and unbelievers, King of Kings, Emperor of the East and the West, Majestic Caesar, Emperor of the Chakans of great authority, Prince and Lord of the most happy constellation, Seal of victory, Refuge of all the people in the whole entire world, the shadow of the almighty dispensing quiet on the Earth."

Whole articles could be written on what each title means, but it is fascinating to home in on "Emperor of the East and the West, Majestic Caesar". There, amongst all the other more exotic titles, are two direct references to the old Roman titles. By the 1500s, Rome was a pale shadow of its former self. It might still have been the epicentre of religion, but any real power it had once held was long gone, and the city was now regularly invaded by French and German forces.

By the time Mehmed conquered Constantinople, the population had declined by about 90% from its peak, and there was even farmland inside its walls, but the Ottomans reversed this decline and the city was rebuilt. The foundations of an old Byzantine palace became the foundations for the new Ottoman palace of Topkapi and the epicentre of a vibrant empire whose fourth and final capital was Constantinople. The city itself became an important trading hub with a rapidly growing population. In the eyes of the Ottomans, their possession of the greatest city of antiquity meant that they were the legitimate inheritors of the title Caesar. The Caesars were now Ottoman. ○

The beaten hero

Who was the man that Mehmed II defeated?



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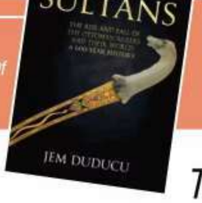
Of course, if Mehmed II was the winner at the Siege of Constantinople there had to be a loser, and that was Constantine XI. In the last hours, he was seen fighting on the walls. He was a brave man who had almost nothing to confront an enemy with almost infinite resources. Had he handed over the city without a fight, he would've become a pariah. Instead, he's now an unofficial saint in the Greek Orthodox Church, and many legends have sprung up around him.

It was said there was a prophecy that Constantinople would be founded by one Constantine and lost by another (which is true, but the 'legend' seems to have post-dated 1453). Another legend says that an angel rescued Constantine XI by turning him into a marble statue and placing him in a cave near the Golden Gate, where he waits patiently to be brought to life to win back the city for Christendom. This is why he is sometimes called 'the marble emperor'.

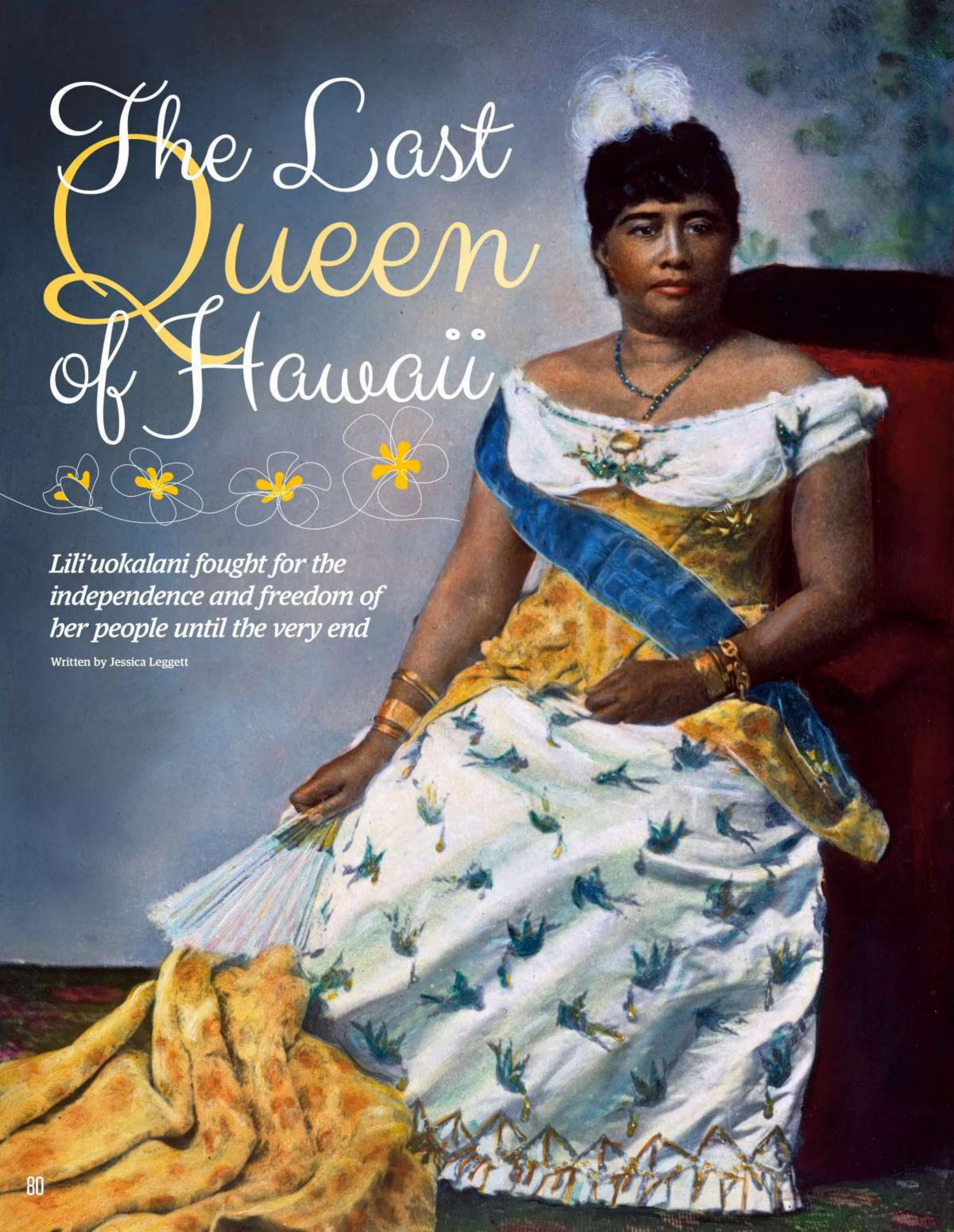
Finally, the name of Constantine was a rallying cry for Greeks during their war of independence from the Ottoman Empire and he's a national hero in Greece. Constantine XI is both the end point of the 1000-year history of the Byzantine Empire but also (arguably) the full stop to the Roman Empire.

EXPERT BIO

Jem Duducu is the author of The Sultans: The Rise And Fall Of The Ottoman Rulers And Their World: A 600-Year History.

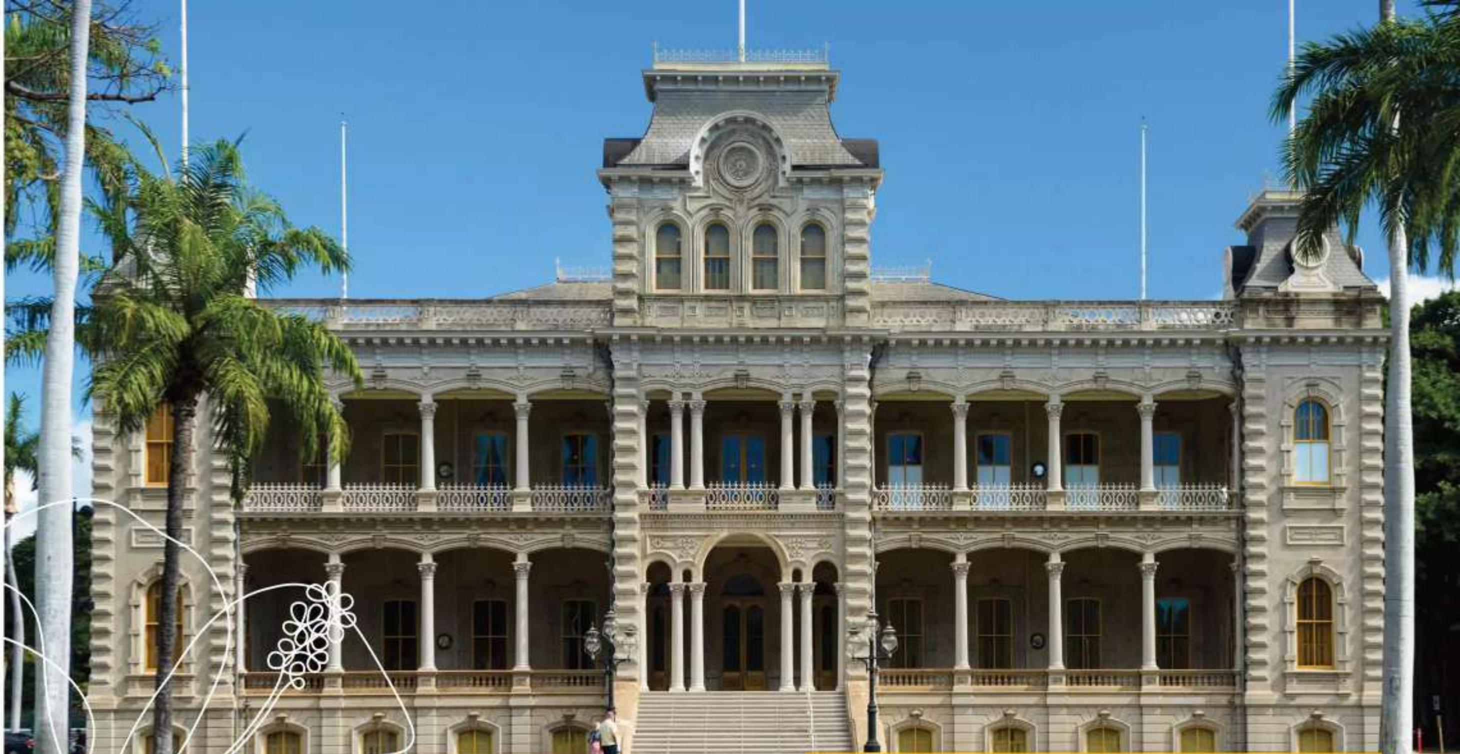


The Last Queen of Hawaii



Lili'uokalani fought for the independence and freedom of her people until the very end

Written by Jessica Leggett



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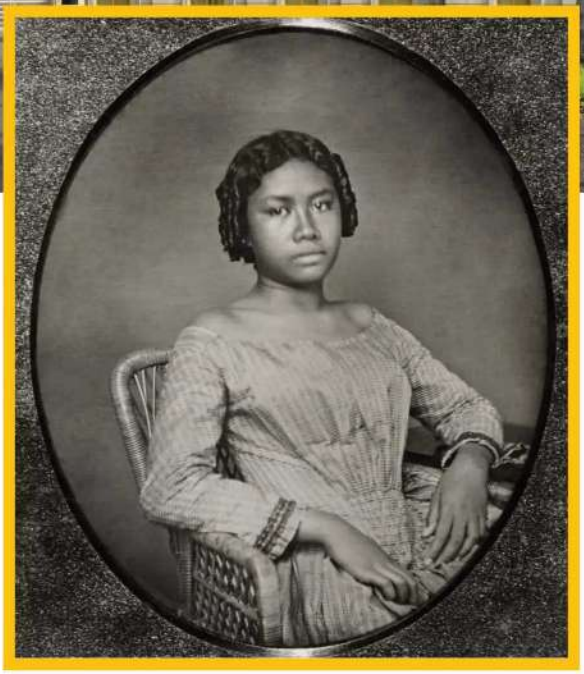


Lili'uokalani, the first and only queen of Hawaii, was the last sovereign to rule over the islands. Her reign was ended, when she was deposed in a coup by foreign landowners in 1893, a move that was supported by the US military. A devoted monarch, she never wavered in her commitment to the people of Hawaii, even after she lost the throne.

Lili'uokalani was born in 1838 to Ali'i Analea Keohokālole and Caesar Kapa'akea, both high-ranking Hawaiian chiefs. Her family was related to the House of Kamehameha, the ruling dynasty of Hawaii. Her mother, Keohokālole, was an adviser of King Kamehameha III, who had signed the first fully written constitution of the Hawaiian kingdom in 1840. As a young girl, the future queen was known as Lydia Kamakaeha, having been given the English name Lydia at her baptism.

By the time of Lydia's birth, Christianity had been established in the kingdom thanks to the arrival of missionaries. As a result, she was taught by American missionaries at the Royal School, a boarding school for the nobility, where she received an extensive education and became fluent in English. After boarding school, she joined King Kamehameha IV's court and became a close friend of his wife, Queen Emma, her former classmate.

In 1860, she became engaged to John Owen Dominis, the son of a Boston sea captain, who had been raised in Hawaii and educated at the school next to Lydia's. They married two years later and moved into Washington Palace in Honolulu, the Dominis family home that had been named after President George Washington.

Sadly, their marriage was unhappy, with rumours swirling about John's infidelity - they also lived with John's mother, Mary, who didn't like Lydia. However, Lydia later noted in her memoir, *Hawaii's Story By Hawaii's Queen*, that Mary "became more and more a tender and affectionate mother to me as her days were drawing to a close". The couple had no biological children but they did adopt three children together - one of whom was an illegitimate child that John had fathered with one of Lydia's servants in 1883. Her husband would ultimately die just seven months into her reign as queen.

In 1872, Lydia's future changed forever when King Kamehameha V died without leaving a successor to the throne. In accordance with the Hawaiian constitution, it was up to the legislature to establish a new line of succession. However, when their first elected choice - King Lunalilo - died after a year, Lydia's brother Kalākaua was elected as king in 1874. Three years later, their brother and Kalākaua's heir-apparent, WP Leleiohoku, died and Lydia was subsequently named as the new heir-presumptive. From that moment on, she became known by her royal name - Lili'uokalani.

As the next-in-line to the Hawaiian throne, Lili'uokalani threw herself into her new role. During this time, she got involved with various charitable causes and founded the Lili'uokalani Educational Society in 1886 to provide schooling for impoverished children. The following year, she accompanied her sister-in-law, Queen Kapi'olani, to London where

TOP Iolani Palace, the official residence of the Hawaiian monarchy

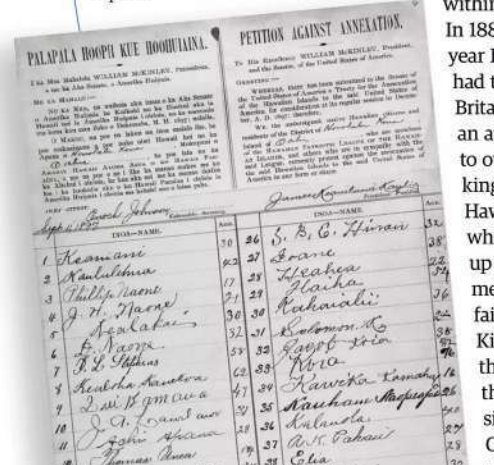
ABOVE The earliest known photograph of Lili'uokalani they represented their family at Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee celebrations. This visit was part of a world tour that also saw Lili'uokalani meet US President Grover Cleveland.

At the same time, there was growing tension within the kingdom. For decades, foreign citizens, namely Americans and Europeans, had been demanding the right to own land in Hawaii. This led to the redistribution of Hawaiian land, known as the Great Māhele, in 1848, which required people to make claims for their land titles. Many indigenous Hawaiians were unaware of this and by 1850 land ownership became privatised thanks to the Kuleana Act. Foreign citizens were now able to purchase territory, leading to foreign plantations and mills becoming quickly established, while many indigenous Hawaiians lost their land.

BELOW A signed petition against the annexation of Hawaii

BOTTOM President Dole (centre) and the Cabinet of the Republic

Soon, the foreign landowners became eager to increase their political power within the kingdom. In 1887, the same year Lili'uokalani had travelled to Britain, there was an attempted coup to overthrow the kingdom by the Hawaiian League, which was made up of non-native men. While they failed to remove King Kalākaua, they succeeded in threatening him to sign the Bayonet Constitution, which limited the power of the monarchy.



PALAPALA HOOPII KUE HOOHUIAINA.

PETITION AGAINST ANNEXATION.

© Alamy

Lili'uokalani was shocked by the rebellion, later recalling that her brother had "signed that constitution under absolute compulsion". She was also upset by Kalākaua's decision to renew the Reciprocity Treaty that year, which granted privileged commercial concessions to the US and ceded the port of Pearl Harbor to them. Lili'uokalani would later state that the treaty "put in peril the independence of our nation".

Kalākaua trusted his sister's ability to rule the kingdom enough that he named her as acting regent on his behalf between 1880 to 1881 when he went on a world tour. He also asked her to assume the regency again in 1890 when he travelled to California and San Francisco, despite her pleas for him not to go on account of his ill health. However, the king ignored his sister's concerns and in January 1891 he passed away in the US after falling into a coma following a stroke.

Now the queen of Hawaii, Lili'uokalani was determined to restore the power of the monarchy which had been lost over the years to the US. In her quest, she enjoyed the support of the indigenous Hawaiians, who wanted to protect the kingdom's democratic practices. However, she faced fierce opposition from the foreigners who, realising that she was a threat to their ambitions, wanted to suppress her royal authority.

> "Lili'uokalani never gave up hope that Hawaii could regain independence and she dedicated herself to the cause"

Thanks to the US increasing import rates on sugar from the islands, there was a growing number foreign landowners who wanted Hawaii to be annexed by the US – if Hawaiian sugar could be sold in the US without paying duties, then the landowners could reap greater profits. In the meantime, Lili'uokalani refused to accept the Bayonet Constitution, proposing a new one in January 1893 that would restore power to the crown as well as removing the right to vote for American and European residents, which had been awarded in 1887.

Unfortunately, the queen was stopped in her tracks when her cabinet refused to support her draft for a new constitution, concluding that it would cause a huge backlash. Shortly afterwards, her opponents gathered and formed the Committee of Safety, a 13-member group that wanted to overthrow Lili'uokalani and for Hawaii to be annexed by the US.

The Committee was unofficially led by Lorrin Thurston, a lawyer, businessman and descendant of missionaries, who was one of the authors of the Bayonet Constitution. With the assistance of US minister John L Stevens, who ordered marines from the USS Boston to land ashore to support Thurston, the Committee gathered across the street to the Iolani Palace, the queen's royal residence, demanding her surrender.

Even though there were armed Hawaiians ready to defend her, Lili'uokalani wanted to avoid bloodshed and forbade her people from fighting the American troops and citizens, and she surrendered. The Committee subsequently

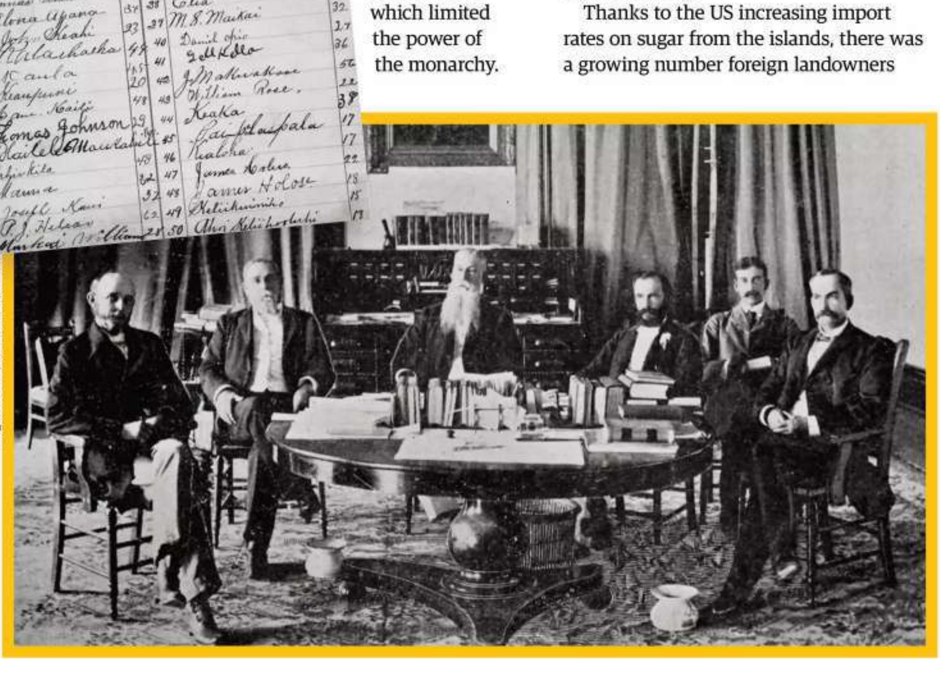


Image source: wiki/ Edward Solon Goodhue

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ABOVE-LEFT
A detachment of US marines in Hawaii, 1893

ABOVE
A photograph Lili'uokalani from 1917, the year that she died

announced that the queen had been deposed and that the monarchy was abolished, with a Provisional Government established in its place. Sanford B Dole - once a member of the queen's privy council - was installed as president.

Lili'uokalani appealed to President Cleveland to reinstate her and he agreed, but only if she granted amnesty to those who had taken part in the coup. Lili'uokalani initially refused before she agreed to the condition. However, Cleveland's request for her reinstatement was ignored by Dole and the Provisional Government. Hawaii was then declared a republic in 1894 with Dole as president. An anti-imperialist, Cleveland refused the foreign landowners' offer to join the United States.

In January 1895, royalists led an insurrection in their queen's name which was ultimately suppressed. In the aftermath, Lili'uokalani was accused of treason and placed under house arrest in the Iolani Palace by the republic. While she had been aware of the plot she had played no part in it, but regardless Lili'uokalani was convicted and imprisoned in her bedroom. While incarcerated, she formally renounced her claim and abdicated to secure pardons for her supporters who had been jailed following their revolt, fearing that they would be executed.

Although Cleveland opposed the annexation of Hawaii, his successor William McKinley supported it. There were petitions against annexation and Lili'uokalani led the Onipa'a movement, protesting against any move to annex the islands. In 1896, along with her niece and designated heir, Kaiulani, Lili'uokalani travelled with a group of activists to Washington, D.C., where they presented their petitions to the Senate. Despite their efforts, Hawaii was annexed in 1898 by the US, which did not allow the Hawaiians to vote on the matter.

But Lili'uokalani never gave up hope that Hawaii could regain independence and she dedicated herself to the cause, alongside her charity work. In 1909, she established the Queen Lili'uokalani Trust for orphaned and destitute children in Hawaii, which remains today and is a big part of her legacy.

A gifted composer and songwriter, she also wrote over 160 songs and chants. Lili'uokalani famously composed *Aloha Oe* (*Farewell to Thee*) in 1878, a song that has been cherished by Hawaiians ever since. Also known as the farewell song, it is interpreted as the queen's sorrow at the loss of her country and its independence.

After six decades, Hawaii was officially made a state of the US in 1959, but to this day many indigenous Hawaiians still protest the colonisation of their lands. As for Lili'uokalani, the beloved queen and humanitarian died at the age of 79 in Honolulu in 1917 having never achieved her dream for Hawaiian independence. ○

Social Pioneers

The men and women who have helped to shape the rights we enjoy and defend today

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WorldCup USA94
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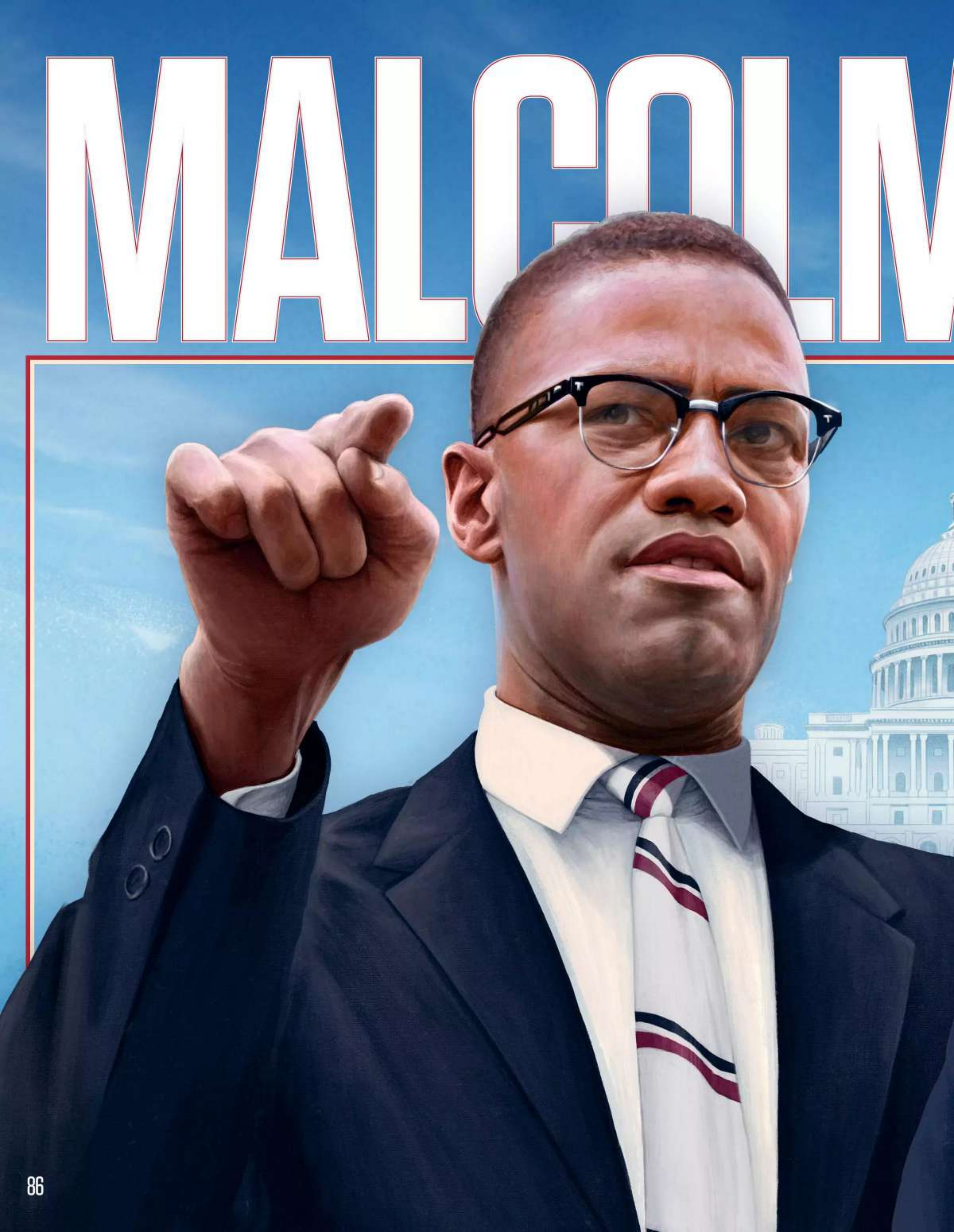
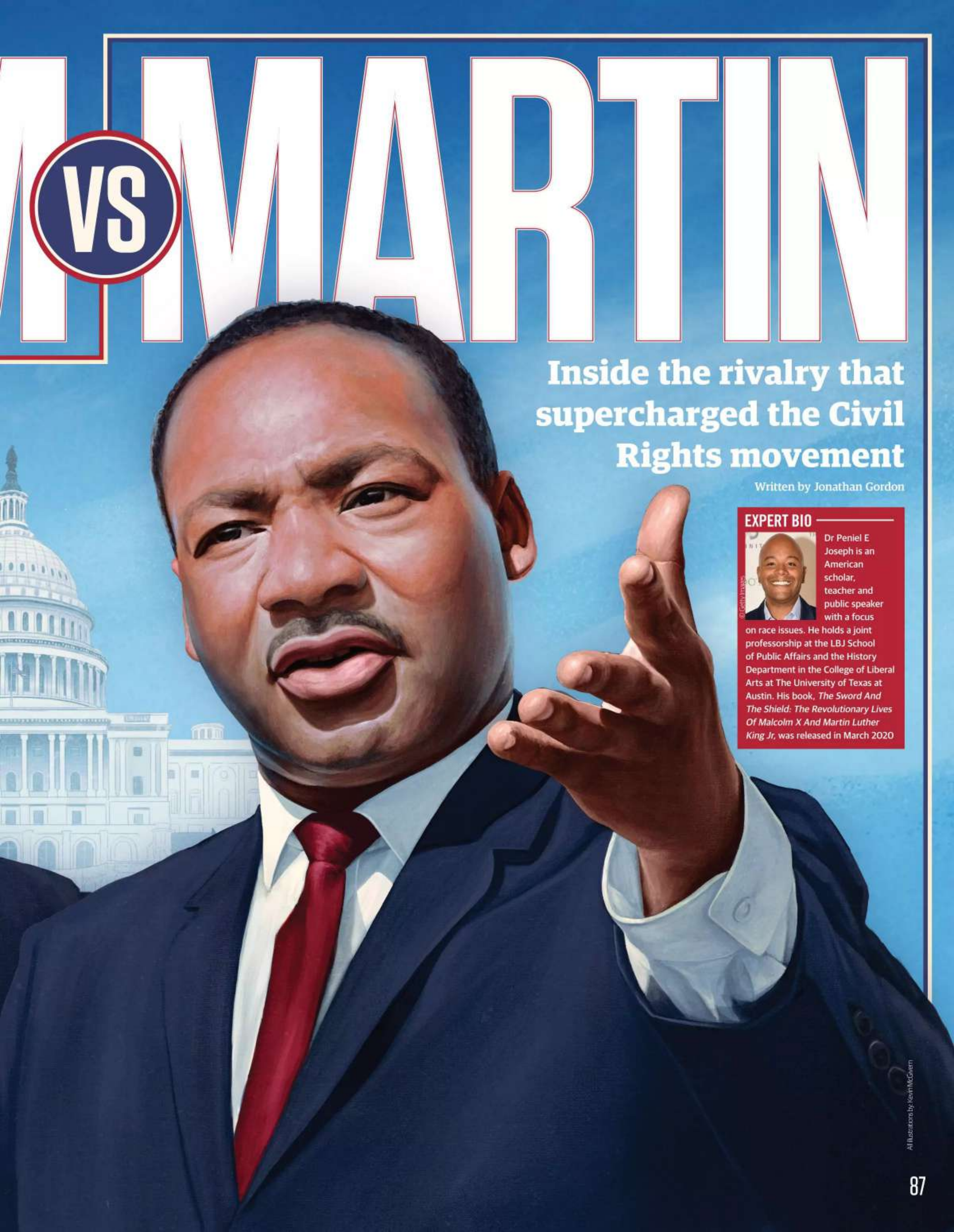
MALCOLM





VS MARTIN

Inside the rivalry that supercharged the Civil Rights movement

Written by Jonathan Gordon

EXPERT BIO

© Getty Images

Dr Peniel E Joseph is an American scholar, teacher and public speaker with a focus on race issues. He holds a joint professorship at the LBJ School of Public Affairs and the History Department in the College of Liberal Arts at The University of Texas at Austin. His book, *The Sword And The Shield: The Revolutionary Lives Of Malcolm X And Martin Luther King Jr*, was released in March 2020

All illustrations by: Kevin McGivern

They didn't hold high public office, they didn't fight wars and they didn't possess vast wealth and riches, and yet Dr Martin Luther King Jr and Malcolm X still managed to become two of the most iconic figures of the 20th century. Rising to prominence at the height of the Civil Rights movement in the 1960s, each became equally revered and reviled by different parts of the United States. Both would ultimately come to be the de facto leader of their groups and each would meet an untimely and violent end at the hands of assailants whose identities and motives continue to be hotly debated.

In Dr King's role as first president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and Malcolm X's position as a minister and leading national spokesperson for the Nation of Islam (NOI), these two men often appeared to offer two conflicting arguments and approaches to the challenge of achieving racial justice and equality in America. What's more, each existed in the public eye to a far greater and wider extent than any of their contemporaries fighting for African American rights and representation, and as a result each has developed their own legend. What we hope to do as we explore the lives of these two men is to find what linked them more than divided them and bring back some of the humanity of the men behind the myths. To that end we could think of no one better to guide us through this journey than the author of *The Sword And The Shield: The Revolutionary Lives Of Malcolm X And Martin Luther King Jr*, Dr Peniel E Joseph.

"The mythology around both men frames them as opposites," he explains. "It frames Malcolm as Dr King's evil twin. It frames Dr King as this saint who would just give everybody a hug if he was alive right now and that really takes away from understanding the depth and breadth of their political power, their political radicalism and their evolution over time."

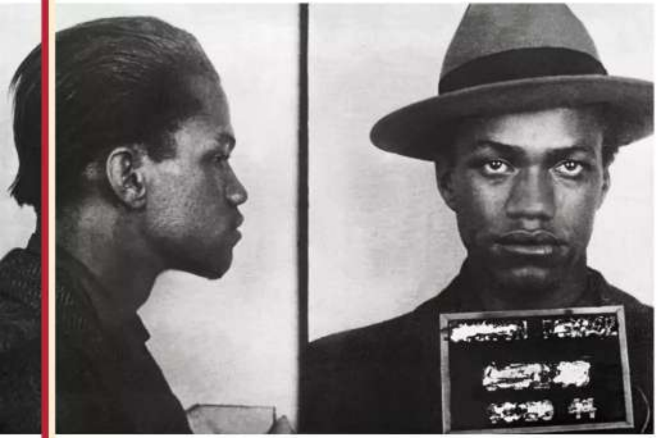
We'll take a closer look at that evolution and convergence of ideas as we progress, but first it's interesting to consider where each man came from and how that might have informed his world view. "Martin Luther King Jr is raised in an upper-middle class, elite household in Atlanta, Georgia," Joseph tells us. "His father is a preacher, his mother is present in his life and it's a very comfortable upbringing. Malcolm X is raised in Omaha and in Lansing, Michigan on farms, so he's a country boy. His father is murdered by white supremacists when he's six years old and his mother is put in a psychiatric facility, so he's a foster child by the time he's in elementary school. And then he becomes a hustler in Boston and Harlem as a teenager and he's finally arrested for theft and spends seven years in prison. When Malcolm is in prison, Dr King is at Morehouse College, the most prestigious, historically black, all-men's college that you could go to then or now. He goes and gets a theological degree

RIGHT
It was Malcolm X who introduced Muhammad Ali to the Nation of Islam

MIDDLE-RIGHT
King attends the Ghana independence ceremony in 1957

BOTTOM-RIGHT
Speaking at a rally in Harlem in 1963, Malcolm X points to a photo of a dead black protestor

BELOW
A mugshot for Malcolm Little, aged 18 when he was arrested in 1944



CIVIL RIGHTS TIMELINE

Important milestones towards justice

17 May 1954

BROWN VS BOARD OF EDUCATION

The United States Supreme Court makes the landmark ruling that segregation of students on the basis of race is unconstitutional, essentially ending all-white school policies and the 'separate but equal' rules of Jim Crow.

1 December 1955

ROSA PARKS

As part of an ongoing and organised protest against the segregation of buses in Alabama, Rosa Parks refuses to give up her seat when the driver moves the dividing line of the bus back, sparking a bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama, and focusing national attention on the issue.

September 1957

THE LITTLE ROCK NINE

Nine African American students attend Little Rock Central High School for the first time; a school that had been all-white up until that point. A large mob and members of the Arkansas National Guard block their path to the school, ultimately requiring the students to have military protection to enter after weeks of protest.

1 February 1960

THE GREENSBORO FOUR

Four students begin a sit-in at the whites-only lunch counter of Woolworth department store. Denied service, they refuse to leave when asked and remain seated until closing. They return again the next day with 20 more students, with the sit-in growing in the following weeks to take up every seat.

14 November 1960

RUBY BRIDGES

Six-year-old Ruby Bridges hopes to attend the previously all-white school of William Frantz Elementary in New Orleans. She requires an armed escort by federal marshals to navigate the angry mob leading up to and outside the school. This continues every day of the school year and she is taught alone in an empty classroom by her teacher, Barbara Henry.

The NEW THERESA

4x © Getty Images

at seminary school – Crozer Theological Seminary in Chester, Pennsylvania – and then gets a PhD at Boston University."

The strong religious upbringing of King clearly had a massive influence on his life, becoming a preacher himself as well as a political activist and integrating his faith deep into his speeches. Meanwhile, Malcolm's tough upbringing and the tragedies he endured help to explain the righteous anger and pain he expressed as a minister for the NOI. However, Joseph does point out one curious similarity in their upbringing: "They're both impacted by the movie *Gone With The Wind*. It premieres in Atlanta when Dr King is ten years old. Malcolm is 14 years old and sees that movie in Mason, Michigan, and talks about squirming in the movie theatre at all the racial stereotypes that the movie's filled with. It's filled with black women who are servants who are getting slapped in the face by white women who are masters, and it's this sepia-toned, nostalgic vision of racial slavery. So that's similar."

It was during his time in prison for burglary that the then-Malcolm Little was introduced to Islam by some of his siblings and he joined the NOI. Its leader Elijah Muhammad took a personal interest in him, with letters being sent between them, before he was released in 1952. He abandoned his 'slave name' of Little and became Malcolm X, a minister in the NOI advocating for black separatism (which was the policy of the organisation), first in Chicago and later in Harlem, New York, which would become his base for years to come. The formative years of each man's life are ultimately what frames them as polarised voices in a similar struggle.

"THE MYTHOLOGY AROUND BOTH MEN FRAMES THEM AS OPPOSITES"

"Malcolm X is really black America's prosecuting attorney and he is going to be charging white America with a series of crimes against black humanity," explains Joseph. "I argue in *The Sword And The Shield* that in a way his life's work boils down to radical black dignity, and what he means by black dignity is really black people having the political self-determination to decide their own political futures and fates. They define racism and they define anti-racism and what social justice looks like for themselves. It's connected to the United States, but globally it's also connected to African decolonisation, African independence, Third World independence, Middle East politics, all of it." Radical black dignity is also, importantly, about building up a black cultural identity that is independent of white America and building self-worth, which is a big part of where ideas like Black Power would later come from.

King naturally comes to things from a different direction. "Martin Luther King Jr is really the defence attorney," says Joseph. "He defends black lives to white people and white lives to black people. He's really advocating for radical black citizenship and his notion of citizenship is going to get more expansive over time; it's going to be more than just voting rights and ending segregation. It's going to become about ending poverty, food justice, health care, a living wage, universal basic income for everyone." So radical black citizenship is about outward expression, about African Americans having an impact on the social systems that are in place, becoming engaged and demanding to be heard.

4 May 1961

THE FREEDOM RIDES

Following the protests of the bus boycott started by Rosa Parks, the Freedom Rides are intended to test new rulings banning segregation on interstate travel. Seven African American and six white protesters board two buses and face violence in South Carolina on 14 May when a bus is forced to stop to change a tyre.

3 April 1963

BIRMINGHAM

The Birmingham, Alabama, demonstrations against segregation encompass sit-ins, boycotts, mass protests and marches to City Hall. Martin Luther King is arrested on 12 April for violating anti-protest rules. The authorities use fire hoses and dogs against protesters, causing national outrage and prompting JFK to propose a Civil Rights Bill.

28 August 1963

MARCH ON WASHINGTON

The March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom is the culmination of protests throughout 1963. An estimated 250,000 people gather peacefully on the National Mall in Washington DC, where they hear speeches from Civil Rights leaders like a young John Lewis and, famously, Martin Luther King's "I Have a Dream" speech.

2 July 1964

CIVIL RIGHTS ACT

Picking up and strengthening the proposal by President Kennedy before his assassination, Lyndon B Johnson signs the Civil Rights Act into law. It is intended to end racial discrimination in the workplace and in finding employment, end voter discrimination and end segregation of public facilities.

7 March 1965

THE SELMA MARCH

A march from Selma in Alabama to Montgomery is organised to protest against voting discrimination and to advocate for a federal voting law. The attempt is met with vicious violence by state troopers. A second attempt led by King is stopped short when troopers appear to make way to them. A final attempt on 21 March is completed, with 25,000 in attendance.

"True peace is not merely the absence of tension; it is the presence of justice"

17 September 1958

"Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere"

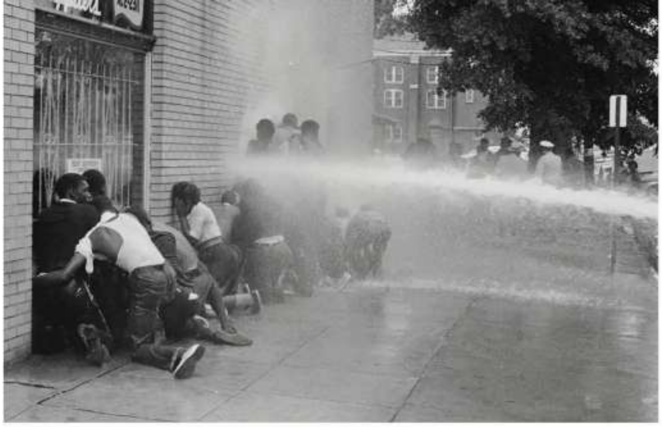
16 April 1963

"This is no time to engage in the luxury of cooling off or to take the tranquilising drug of gradualism"

16 April 1963

"True compassion is more than flinging a coin to a beggar. It comes to see that an edifice which produces beggars needs restructuring"

4 April 1967



ABOVE
Police use fire hoses to subdue protesters in Birmingham, Alabama, in 1963

RIGHT
Malcolm X gives a speech in Harlem, which became his political home base

MIDDLE-RIGHT
King met President Johnson on a number occasions, but the meetings declined as King pushed for more radical reforms

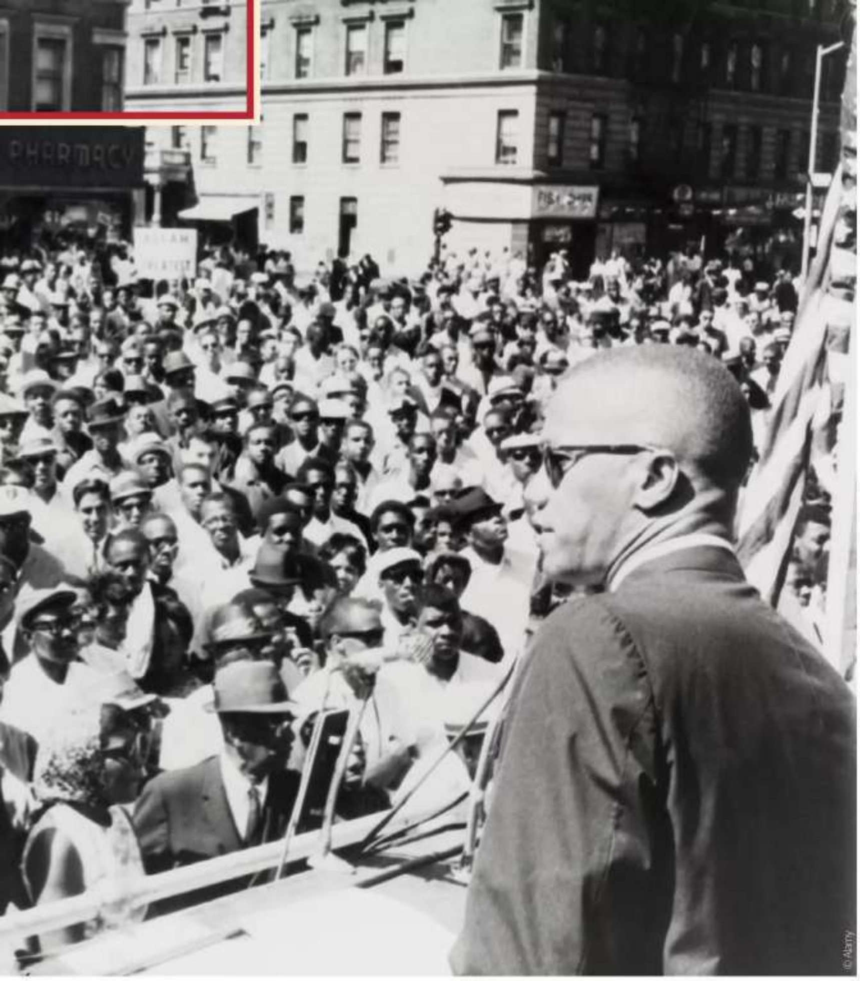
BOTTOM-RIGHT
Malcolm X meets Prince Faisal al-Saud, who would later become king of Saudi Arabia

These two approaches, one that builds personal identity and another that looks to express that identity and have it recognised by a system that's set up to ignore black voices, seem more complementary than adversarial when we look at them from a slight remove. "Their differences really become differences of tactics rather than goals," says Joseph. "They're both going to come to see that you need dignity and citizenship and those goals are going to converge over time, but it's the tactics and how we get to those goals."

Famously, though, they did not always see eye to eye. Malcolm X in particular took aim at King and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference on multiple occasions (likely because he was a high-profile target and Malcolm was nothing if not media savvy). Malcolm regularly referred to King as an 'Uncle Tom', implying that his nonviolent strategy was either too accommodating to white America or even saying he was being subsidised by white America to keep African Americans defenceless. King for his part warned, "Fiery, demagogic oratory in the black ghettos, urging Negroes to arm themselves and prepare to engage in violence, as [Malcolm X] has done, can reap nothing but grief."

And yet despite the animosity between the two men publicly, Malcolm X continually attempted to reach out to King over the years. He sent articles and NOI reading materials and invited him to speeches and meetings. On 31 July 1963, Malcolm X even publicly called for unity. "If capitalistic Kennedy and communistic Khrushchev can find something in common on which to form a United Front despite their tremendous ideological differences, it is a disgrace for Negro leaders not to be able to submerge our 'minor' differences in order to seek a common solution to a common problem posed by a Common Enemy," he wrote, inviting Civil Rights leaders to join him in Harlem to speak at a rally. But they did not attend, perhaps because shortly after they would be attending the March on Washington and they were deep in planning. The slight was taken, though,

"THEIR DIFFERENCES REALLY BECOME DIFFERENCES OF TACTICS RATHER THAN GOALS"



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"We are nonviolent with people who are nonviolent with us"

1963

"We didn't land on Plymouth Rock, Plymouth Rock landed on us"

29 March 1964

"We can never get Civil Rights in America until our human rights are first restored"

25 August 1964

"You can't separate peace from freedom because no one can be at peace unless he has his freedom"

4 April 1967

Image source: wiki/Lyndon Baines Johnson Library and Museum

with Malcolm dismissing the August 1963 event the 'Farce on Washington'.

Despite the rhetoric, Joseph thinks Malcolm was still learning much from King's activities. "Dr King is the person who helps mobilise Birmingham, Alabama, in 1963 and King is going to be facing German Shepherds and fire hoses and it's going to be a big, global media spectacle," he says. "King writes his famous *Letter From Birmingham Jail* during that period. Malcolm is in Washington DC for most of that spring as temporary head of Mosque No. 4 there and he's really going to be influenced by King's mobilisations - his ability to mobilise large numbers of people - even as he's critical of King because of the nonviolence and the fact that so many kids and women are being brutalised."

The really big shift in world view for Malcolm X comes the following year as he gradually breaks away from Elijah Muhammad (who was mired in allegations of extramarital affairs) and the NOI and seeks to define his own path forward. "By 1964 in 'The Ballot Or The Bullet' speech, you see Malcolm X talking about voting rights as part of black liberation and freedom. You see him in an interview with Robert Penn Warren saying that he and Dr King have the same goal, which is human dignity, but they have different ways of getting there," explains Joseph.

▶

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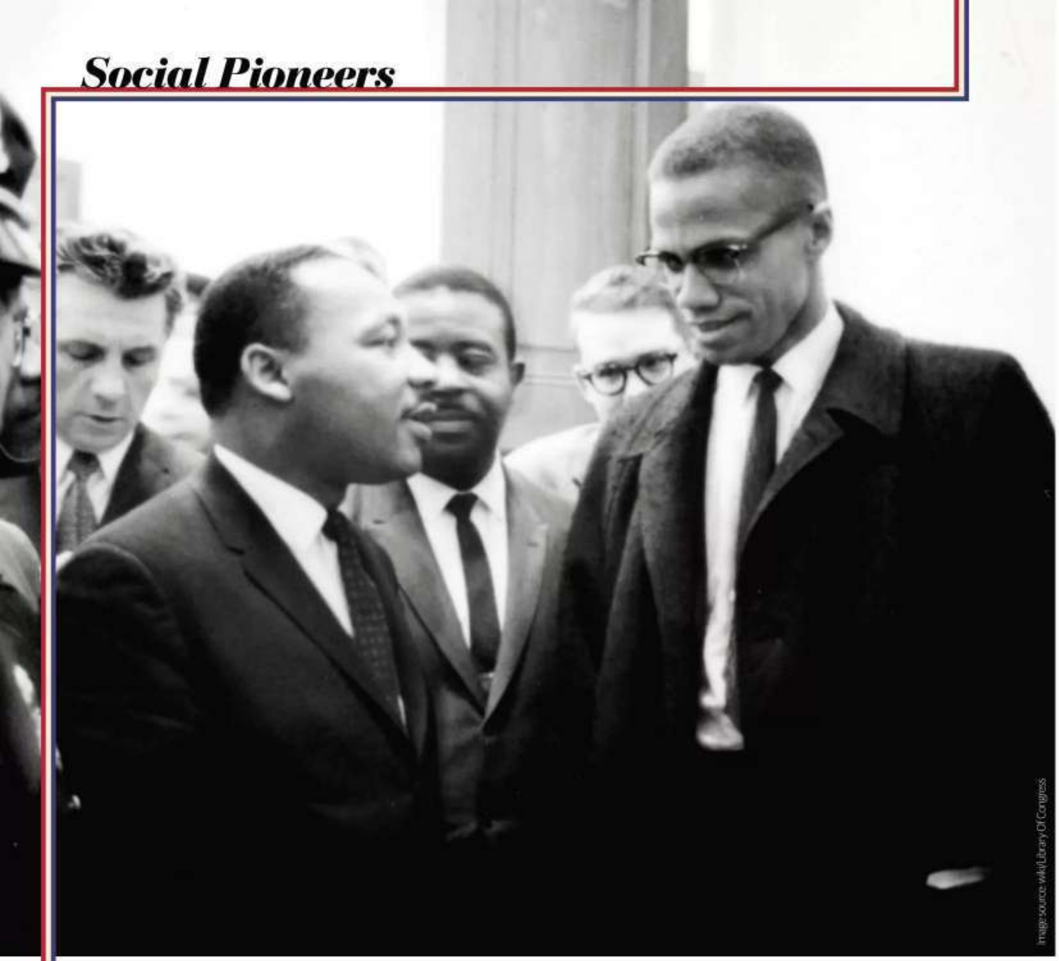


Image source: wiki/Library Of Congress

It's around this time that Malcolm X left the United States for several months, travelling to Egypt, Lebanon, Liberia, Senegal, Nigeria, Ghana and Saudi Arabia, including taking his pilgrimage to Mecca where he received his new Islamic name, El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz. The trip made a big impression on him, and he spoke subsequently about how seeing Muslims of so many different ethnic and cultural backgrounds worshipping together opened his eyes to the real possibility of racial integration and peace.

"KING BECOMES THIS VERY PROPHETIC, RADICAL FIGURE AFTER MALCOLM'S ASSASSINATION"

All of this actually took place not long after the two men had met for what would be the first and only time. In the midst of the passing of the Civil Rights Act, as it was being filibustered on the Senate floor, Dr Martin Luther King Jr and Malcolm X crossed paths on Capitol Hill. "They both come and are talking to reporters and doing press conferences in support of the Civil Rights Act," says Joseph. "They're both coming there for the same reason. People are surprised that Malcolm is there and he's watching the Senate and he's doing his interviews and there's a point where Malcolm is in the same room as Dr King and on the couch while Dr King is doing his press conference and they meet afterwards, exchanging pleasantries." It was a moment captured by only a couple of photos, catching them mid-conversation with Malcolm recorded as saying, "I'm throwing myself into the heart of the Civil Rights struggle."

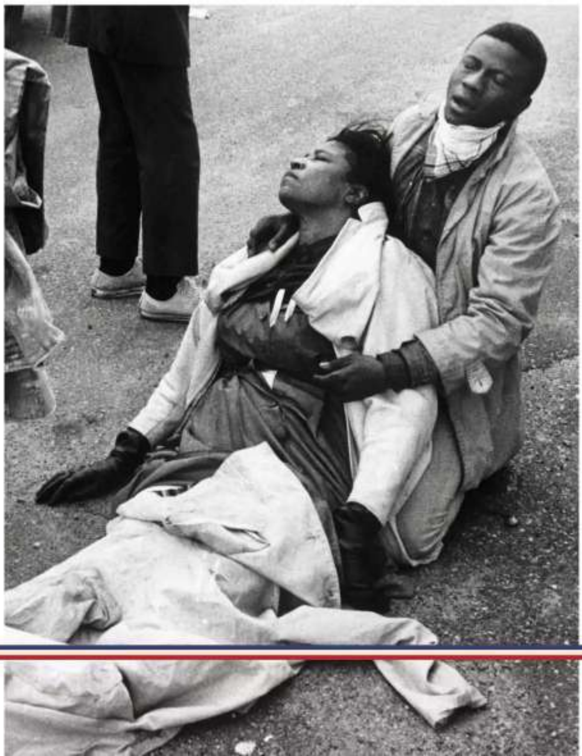
Malcolm X continued to make overtures to King in the months that followed, offering him protection in St Augustine, Florida, that spring as protestors fought for desegregation of its beaches and playgrounds and later in Selma, Alabama, as King's attention turned to voting rights where he felt he had a role to play. "I think Malcolm gave King more room to operate and I think Malcolm knew this," says Joseph. "When he visits Selma shortly before his own death, he's trying to visit Dr King in February of 1965 in Alabama but King is jailed and he gets to visit Coretta Scott King gives a speech and visits some of the student organisers. He tells Coretta Scott King that he's only there to support her husband and he wants people to know that if her husband's advocacy of voting rights is not accomplished that there are other alternative forces out there that are going to be led by him. So he definitely offers King more strategic leeway."

Whether or not the two men could have ultimately found a way to coordinate their approaches in a less ad hoc fashion we will never know because on 21 February 1965, just days before the Selma to Montgomery marches were about to be attempted by King's movement, Malcolm X was assassinated in New York. The exact details remain disputed, but we do know that he was about to speak at the Audubon Ballroom, where he was expected to announce plans for voter registration drives, denounce police brutality and call for the UN to speak up on human rights violations in America. As he began to speak a scuffle broke out, likely as a distraction, and a man approached the stage with a shotgun, shooting him. Two more men rushed the stage with pistols and shot him again as he lay on the floor. The impact of his death would be felt throughout the movement, and quite profoundly by King.

"One of the surprising things is that we don't discuss the way in which the person who is most radicalised by Malcolm's assassination is Martin Luther King Jr," Joseph explains. "He breaks with Lyndon Johnson on 4 April 1967 with the Riverside Church speech in New York, where he says that the United States is the greatest purveyor of violence in the world. Malcolm had always talked about racial slavery and how racial slavery had shaped the present and King talks about that much more after 1965. He's

ABOVE
The only time the two men met was on Capitol Hill in 1964

BELOW
The events of Bloody Sunday in Selma, Alabama, shocked the world



I.U.E.
AFL-CIO
FOR
FULL
EMPLOYMENT
WE MARCH FOR JOBS FOR ALL NOW!

TOP
King gives his 'I Have A Dream' speech on the National Mall

ABOVE & RIGHT
Malcolm X was critical of the March on Washington, but it mobilised hundreds of thousands of people

4x © Getty Images

WE MARCH FOR FIRST CLASS CITIZENSHIP NOW!
CIVIL RIGHTS PLUS FULL EMPLOY
WE MARCH TOGE
CATHOLI
JEWS
OTESTAN
FOR DIGNITY
BROTHERHOO

in Marks, Mississippi, helping to lead the Poor People's Campaign and he's in tears because there's so much poverty there. He says that what the people in Marks, Mississippi, are experiencing is a crime and they're going to go to Washington DC. Malcolm had always said that black poverty, racial segregation and violence were crimes, but Martin Luther King starts speaking in that language."

As King turns his attention to economic inequality through the mid- to late-1960s, he digs deeper and deeper into the wider historic inequalities and injustices of America. "He becomes this very prophetic, radical figure after Malcolm's assassination and he's much more interested in race and blackness too," says Joseph. "There's a speech he makes in 1967 where he says they even tell you 'A white lie is better than a black lie'. He gets into it in a granular way; and this is King, not Malcolm. It's Dr King who says that the halls of the US Congress are 'running wild with racism'. King is testifying before the Kerner Commission, the president's riot commission, and talking about the depth and breadth of white racism. He speaks to the American Psychological Association in September 1967 and says that white people in the United States are producing chaos, blame black people for the chaos and say there would be peace if not for the chaos that they produce. He's really much more candid and much more blunt, much more radical, much more revolutionary and there are no more meetings with the president of the United States."

It is perhaps because they evolved and were willing to learn from one another that each has remained as relevant today as they were in the 1960s. "Even in this year of 2020 with George Floyd and Black Lives Matter and these global protest movements, the only way to understand these movements is to understand Malcolm and Martin who were talking about so much of these issues of police brutality and the criminal justice system, racial segregation and poverty and state-sanctioned violence," says Joseph.

Which is why, adds Joseph, that getting beyond the mythology of these men is so important. "What did they actually do? What did they think? What were the networks that they connected with? Because both of them are in these really important networks with people like Bayard Rustin, who was the organiser of the March on Washington; James Baldwin; Ella Baker, who founded the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; Fannie Lou Hamer, who Malcolm meets up with as a voting rights activist. They

BEHIND THE MOVEMENT

The people who helped shape the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s

MARCUS GARVEY

17 AUG 1887 – 10 JUNE 1940

An early proponent of Black Nationalism, Marcus Garvey believed in a pan-African movement that involved global mobilisation of black people against oppression. He founded the Universal Negro Improvement Association and even launched the Black Star Line to build trade links between Africa and America.

BAYARD RUSTIN

17 MARCH 1912 – 24 AUG 1987

One of Martin Luther King Jr's closest advisors and one of the organisers of the March on Washington in 1963, Rustin grew up in a Quaker family who were heavily involved in the NAACP. As well as fighting for Civil Rights, Rustin was also openly gay and faced further discrimination both within and outside the movement.

ELIJAH MUHAMMAD

7 OCT 1897 – 25 FEB 1975

The man who would become the head of the Nation of Islam was born to former-slave sharecroppers in Georgia. He took over the NOI from its founder Wallace D Fard after he mysteriously disappeared. He was a strong advocate for black separatism and helped develop Malcolm X and his own successor, Louis Farrakhan.

FANNIE LOU HAMER

6 OCT 1917 – 14 MARCH 1977

Joining the movement in 1962 to fight for voting rights, Hamer was fired from her job because of her activism. In 1964 she co-founded the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, which challenged for speaking time at the Democratic Convention. Her testimony before the DNC credentials committee garnered national attention.

ELLA BAKER

13 DEC 1903 – 13 DEC 1986

While Baker worked with Martin Luther King as director of the SCLC, her commitment to mobilising black youth in America saw her split from King in 1960 to form the independent Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, focused on grassroots organising over the top-down leadership she saw elsewhere.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL

29 JUNE 1941 – 15 NOV 1998

The originator of the rallying cry of 'Black Power', Stokely Carmichael (later known as Kwame Ture) originally joined the SNCC (and became its chairman) before seeking a more militant path closer to that of Malcolm X. He ultimately aligned more with the newly formed Black Panther Party and moved to Guinea.

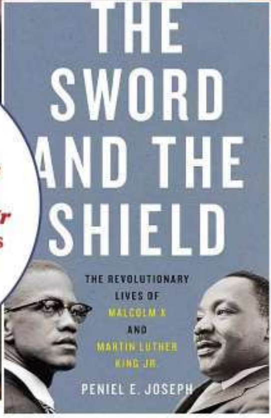
1-4 Image source: wiki/Library Of Congress
5-6 © Getty Images

ALL PEOPLE
STAND TOGETHER
AND NEVER LOSE INFINITE
HOPE.
DARKNESS CANNOT DRIVE
OUT DARKNESS
ONLY LIGHT
DO THAT
GEORGE
FLOYD
FIND UNITY
CULTIVATE LOVE
THAT

RIGHT
Today both Malcolm and Martin are frequently depicted together by activists

BELOW
President Lyndon B Johnson signs the Civil Rights Act with King in attendance

BOTTOM
Malcolm was unable to finish the work of creating a more international movement for racial justice



The Sword And The Shield: The Revolutionary Lives Of Malcolm X And Martin Luther King Jr by Dr Peniel E Joseph is available now from Basic Books

2x © Getty Images

Images source: wiki/Library Of Congress

connect so many different networks. Globally too: Malcolm in Cairo with [Ghanaian president, Kwame] Nkrumah, Malcolm in Tanzania. Martin Luther King is a Nobel Peace Prize winner and spends a month in India. Both Malcolm and King know Nkrumah, Malcolm from Harlem and King in Ghana having met him in 1957. They're extraordinary figures. Malcolm is the person who politicises Muhammad Ali. So they are these global revolutionary figures and they are subversive. They are trying to transform the status quo and unless we really watch that through line and follow them we can get stuck with them as these icons where we don't understand they are both the sword and the shield."

At this point it seems clear that each man was somewhat more complex, multifaceted and evolving than the monolithic figures that are often depicted. The question that hangs around them, though, is could either of them have achieved as much as they did if the other hadn't been there challenging them? "I think they both need each other," concludes Joseph. "They both have misapprehensions about each other and they make mistakes about each other. King thinks Malcolm is this narrow, anti-white black nationalist. Malcolm thinks King is this bourgeois, reform-minded Uncle Tom when they start out. Neither of them are those things, so they both needed the other."

"IT'S DR KING WHO SAYS THAT THE HALLS OF THE US CONGRESS ARE 'RUNNING WILD WITH RACISM'"

What's more, the contributions of each remain important to this day. "Dr King is this major global political mobiliser and the way in which he frames this idea of racial justice globally is very important, and the numbers he attracts are very important," says Joseph. Meanwhile Malcolm has perhaps given us much of the vocabulary around racial justice even in the 21st century: "Malcolm is the first modern activist who is really saying black lives matter in a really deep and definitive way and becomes the avatar of the Black Power movement." ○

PIONEERS OF PRIDE

CRAZY FOR YOU
Prince Edward Theatre
IT'S TIME!
NATIONAL GAY TASK FORCE
NYU
IN MEMORY OF THE VOICES WE HAVE LOST
LESBIAN HERSTORY ARCHIVES

WE LOOK AT TEN HEROES WHO DEVOTED THEIR LIVES TO SEEKING EQUALITY FOR THE LGBT+ COMMUNITY

WRITTEN BY CALLUM MCKELVIE

4x © Getty Images

The very first Pride parade took place on Saturday 27 June 1970 in New York City. A year earlier, the Stonewall riots had taken place when LGBT+ individuals stood up against police raids at the Stonewall Inn gay bar on Christopher Street in Greenwich Village. The shadow of this event would loom long and large over the LGBT+ community and the following year the Christopher Street Liberation Day march was held. Proposed as a demonstration against the unfair treatment of LGBT+ individuals and as a campaign for greater rights, anywhere between 3,000 and 20,000 people are said to have participated. Today, Pride month is celebrated throughout the world and is a chance for the LGBT+ community to be recognised, share their experiences and to continue the fight against discrimination and prejudice.

In 2020, much has changed and true equality can seem far closer than it must have in 1970. Yet the greater recognition that we see today would not have occurred without the hard work and sheer bravery of millions of LGBT+ people. Throughout the centuries, numerous groups and activists have made immeasurable sacrifices and fought against incredible odds to love and live freely and without fear. Here, we celebrate ten people whose work and courage has helped gain greater recognition for the community as a whole.

KARL HEINRICH ULRICHS

1825-1895

One of the forefathers of the modern gay rights movement, German lawyer and author Karl Heinrich Ulrichs was arguably the first individual to publicly 'come out'. Born in 1825, Ulrichs often felt different from other boys and, despite having his first sexual encounter at the age of 14, kept his homosexuality secret for many years. Graduating in history and Latin in 1848, he began his law career in the district of Hildesheim. However, in 1862 he would use his spare time to compose a series of landmark essays on the subject of homosexuality, collected as *Studies On The Riddle Of Male-Male Love*. Written initially under a pseudonym, Ulrichs' papers caused an enormous scandal. Sensing an opportunity to capitalise on this controversy and speak openly, Ulrichs took the unprecedented step of publishing successive works under his own name - a decision that would cost him his career as a lawyer. Undeterred, in 1857 he presented a case to the Congress of German Jurists for the repeal of anti-homosexual laws. Ulrichs faced constant struggle, with his books repeatedly banned or confiscated, and he himself was briefly imprisoned. Believing he had done all he could in Germany, he went into self-imposed exile in Naples, Italy, where he would pass away a short time later in 1895. Now recognised for their huge impact, Ulrichs' writings were the first to argue that homosexuality was an inborn 'condition' and not a learnt 'corruption'.

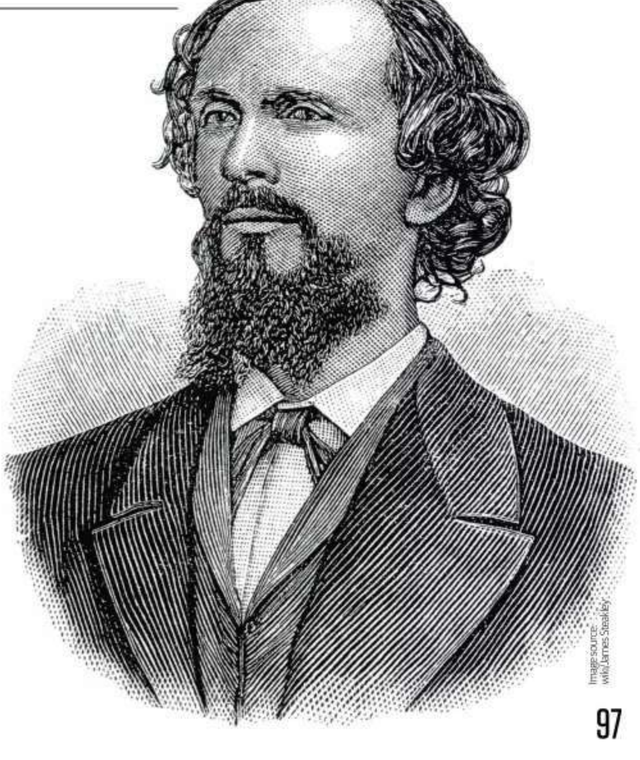
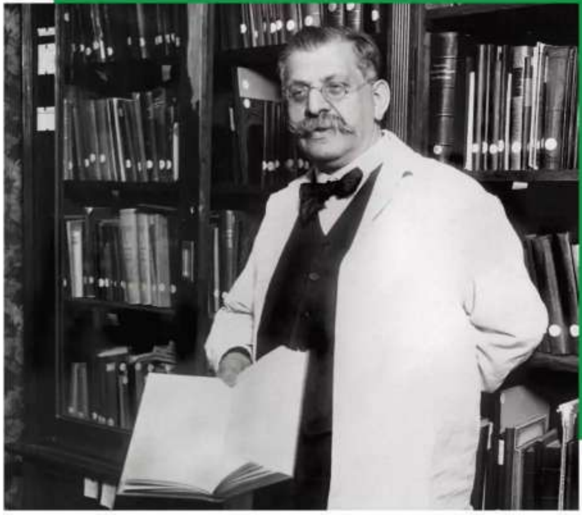


Image source: wiki/James Steakley

MAGNUS HIRCHSFELD

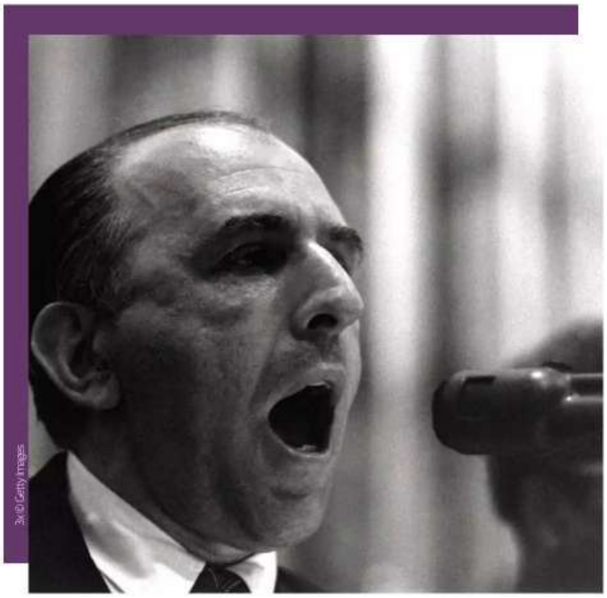
1868-1935



Born in 1868 to a Jewish family in Poland, Magnus Hirchsfeld studied hard to become a physician, and early in his career moved to Berlin. A closeted homosexual himself, he would become deeply sympathetic to LGBT+ minorities and founded the Scientific-Humanitarian Committee. This organisation fought hard to end the criminalisation of homosexuality in Germany and raised awareness about the high rate of suicide among homosexuals. In 1919 he founded the Institute for Sexual Science, which provided support and advice, as well as carrying out research. A committed feminist, he would also campaign for the right for contraception and sex education. After the Nazis came to power in Germany in 1933, Hirchfeld's institute was raided and its documentation burnt. He himself was away on a lecture tour and never returned to the country. Hirchsfeld would die of a heart attack in 1935, his immense legacy only now being rediscovered and appreciated.

FRANK KAMENY

1925-2011



3x © Getty Images

In 1957, due to his sexuality, Frank Kameny was dismissed from his position as an astronomer in the US Army's Map Service. Kameny, however, was not someone to let injustices go unanswered and immediately devoted his life to activism. After having his initial appeals rejected, he began a 60-year campaign against the prejudice and inequality directed towards homosexuals. He started by joining the Mattachine Society, founded in 1950 and one of the earliest gay rights organisations in the United States. In 1961 Kameny worked with the society to launch a campaign of pickets targeting some of the centres of power. This began with a picket line outside the White House in 1965, and then expanded to target The Pentagon, United States Civil Service Commission and Philadelphia's Independence Hall. Parallel to this Kameny was campaigning to overturn the US government's sodomy laws and personally drafted a Bill that would finally pass in 1993. In 1971 he became the first openly gay candidate to run for Congress and when defeated, created the lobbying group The Gay And Lesbian Activists Alliance Of Washington D.C.

One of Kameny's greatest victories involved his tireless work to remove the classification of homosexuality as a mental disorder by the American Psychiatric Association. In 1972, he convinced the association to hold a debate entitled Psychiatry: Friend Or Foe To The Homosexual? After many homosexual psychiatrists refused, Kameny was able to persuade Dr John E Fryer to testify and the following year the society's *Diagnostic And Statistical Manual Of Mental Disorders* was amended. To LGBT+ people around the world, Kameny is a reminder to never give up and never give in.

TIMELINE OF LGBT+ RIGHTS

SOME OF THE MILESTONES IN THE FIGHT FOR LGBT+ RIGHTS IN THE UK AND USA

🇬🇧 **1835** James Pratt and John Smith become the last men to be executed in the United Kingdom for homosexuality.

🇬🇧 **1885** Criminal Law Amendment Act is passed, making all sexual acts between men a criminal offence.

🇬🇧 **1895** Oscar Wilde placed on trial for 'gross indecency' after his affair with Lord Alfred Douglas was made public.

🇺🇸 **1953** President Eisenhower signs an executive order banning homosexuals from working for the Federal Government.

🇬🇧 **1957** *Wolfenden Report* suggests decriminalising homosexuality.

🇺🇸 **1961** Illinois becomes the first US state to decriminalise homosexuality.

🇬🇧 **1967** The Sexual Offences Act decriminalises homosexuality.

🇺🇸 **1969** Stonewall Riots: police raid the Stonewall bar in Greenwich, New York City, leading to protests.

🇬🇧 **1972** London holds its first Pride march.

🇺🇸 **1973** Lambda Legal is founded – the first legal organisation to fight for LGBT+ rights.

CHRISTINE JORGENSEN 1926-1989

"Christine Jorgensen was the first person to become globally famous for having what was then called 'sex change' surgery," says Susan Stryker, professor of gender studies at Yale University. "Born in 1926 in New York to Danish-American parents, she'd always felt feminine as a child and struggled with questions of identity and sexuality. She felt strongly that she wasn't a homosexual man and was attracted to men as a woman."

Jorgensen discovered the possibility of using hormonal treatments to change the appearance of the body. Finding a way to access estradiol, she experimented on herself before a doctor friend suggested that she seek medical treatment in Europe. In 1952, she underwent surgery in Copenhagen.

Stryker first became interested in the Jorgensen story when she was in her teens: "Renee Richards, the trans opthamologist-turned-tennis-pro, was having her big media moment in the 1970s. Newspaper coverage of her would mention that she was the highest-profile transsexual since Christine Jorgensen. That alerted me to the fact that there was something that might be called 'transgender history'. When I was socially transitioning in the late 1980s and early 1990s, as I was finishing my PhD in US history, I decided I wanted to look into Jorgensen's career more deeply, as a kind of 'tip of the iceberg' that could take me towards a submerged and unrecovered trans history."

"JORGENSEN WAS VERY MUCH A PIONEER IN BEING PUBLIC ABOUT HER IDENTITY"

After her surgery, Jorgensen became something of a media sensation. "It seems that Jorgensen herself leaked her story to the press, though she publicly denied this throughout her life," Stryker explains. "The story immediately became a global sensation. However, whilst the press coverage started out being relatively euphoric and ecstatic – reporting on a marvel of the age – it gradually became sensationalistic and exploitative. By the summer of 1953, the reporting questioned whether she was 'really' a man and insinuated that it was some kind of publicity stunt. It made crude jokes and promulgated ill-formed distinctions between physical intersex conditions, homosexuality and transvestitsm, arguing Jorgensen couldn't be who she said she was. But she never entirely left the public spotlight. She had a career as a nightclub entertainer for a decade, wrote a best-selling autobiography and had a successful career on the college lecture circuit.

"If she hadn't died early, of cancer at age 62 in 1989, she would have made it into the new 'transgender' frame of reference that emerged in the early 90s and would undoubtedly have been lionized by a whole new generation.

"Jorgensen was very much a pioneer in being public about her identity. In her post-transition correspondence with her medical team in Denmark, she explicitly noted that she thought she needed to be a good role model for people in a situation similar to hers. She definitely had a 'respectability politics' mindset. She worked behind the scenes with people like Abigail van Buren, the nationally syndicated 'Dear Abby' advice columnist, to help steer inquiring readers with gender questions to the relevant professionals. And in later years she appeared at fundraisers for AIDS charities. She was less a firebrand activist than a person who sought to live an open and proud life that could be emulated by others."

Stryker adds that Jorgensen has a mixed legacy: "On one hand, she's remembered as a brave pioneer. On the other hand, she's critiqued for her unacknowledged white privilege, her US-centrism, her perpetuation of beauty norms, her tendency to exoticise the many foreign places she travelled in a frankly orientalist or colonialist manner, the way her defensiveness about not being a gay man could sometimes shade into homophobia, and her quiet 'good girl' public persona. All of those critiques have merit. As a historian, I think it's also important to recognize the ways that people were a product of their times without excusing them, and to understand what made them significant in their historical context."

1973 American Psychiatric Association removes homosexuality from its list of mental disorders.

1974 Kathy Kozachenko becomes the first openly LGBTQ(+) individual elected to political office in the US.

1978 Openly gay San Francisco city supervisor Harvey Milk is shot dead. In tribute to Milk, Gilbert Baker creates the Rainbow Flag.

1982 Wisconsin outlaws discrimination based on sexuality.

1988 Section 28 is introduced, banning councils and schools from teaching and 'promoting' homosexuality.

1993 President Clinton introduces the 'Don't Ask Don't Tell' policy for homosexuals in the US military.

1995 Hate Crimes Sentencing Enforcement Act passed.

2004 First same-sex marriage in the US.

2004 The Civil Partnership Act grants same-sex civil partnerships with the same rights as married couples.

2013 Marriage (Same Sex Couples) Act allows same-sex marriage in the UK.

World Cup USA94
Coca-Cola
Coca-Cola
STOP

© Getty Images

FACING THE CHALLENGES OF TODAY

WE SPEAK TO THE TREVOR PROJECT ABOUT THEIR IMPORTANT WORK

What is The Trevor Project?

The Trevor Project is the world's largest suicide prevention and crisis intervention organization for LGBTQ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, and questioning) young people.

Tell us about how the organisation came into being?

In 1994, a short film titled *Trevor* was released and it went on to win the Academy Award for Best Live Action Short Film. Upon securing an airing of the short film on HBO with Ellen DeGeneres hosting, the creators of *Trevor* discovered that there was no real place for young people like Trevor to turn to when facing similar challenges around LGBTQ identity. The Trevor Project was officially founded on 25 March, 1998. And on 11 August, 1998, *Trevor* was broadcast on HBO alongside the launch of TrevorLifeline, the first 24/7 national lifeline supporting LGBTQ youth who are in crisis. The first phone calls were answered that night.

Could you explain some of the reasons why suicide rates are high among LGBT+ youth?

LGBTQ young people are not prone to suicide because of their sexual orientation or gender identity – they are at a higher risk of suicidality because of increased experiences of internalized stigma, discrimination and rejection from others. The Trevor Project estimates over 1.8 million LGBTQ youth between the ages of 13 and 24 in the US seriously consider suicide each year. And based on data from the Centers For Disease Control And Prevention, we know that LGBTQ youth are more than four-times more likely to attempt suicide compared to their peers. But we also know from our research that LGBTQ youth who report having at least one accepting adult were 40% less likely to report a suicide attempt in the past year.

What are some examples of the work carried out by The Trevor Project?

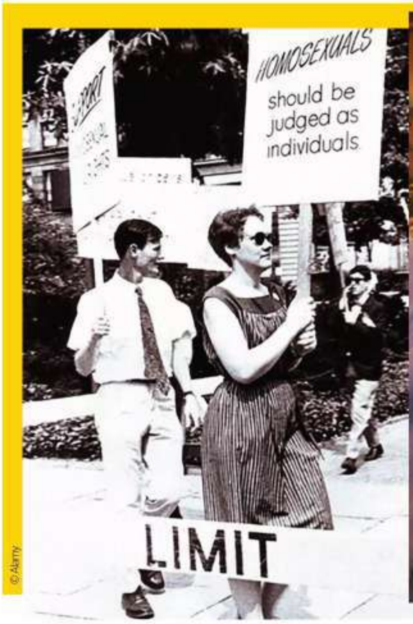
For the last 22 years, The Trevor Project has worked to save young lives by providing support through free and confidential suicide prevention and crisis intervention programmes on platforms where young people spend their time: a 24/7 phone lifeline, chat and text. The organization also runs TrevorSpace, the world's largest safe space social networking site for LGBTQ youth, and operates innovative education, research and advocacy programmes.

© The Trevor Project

THE TREVOR PROJECT
Saving Young LGBTQ Lives

THE DAUGHTERS OF BILITIS

VALERIE TAYLOR 1913-1997
PHYLLIS LYON (1924-2020) AND DEL MARTIN (1921-2008)
BARBARA GITTINGS 1932-2007


HOMOSEXUALS
should be judged as individuals
LIMIT

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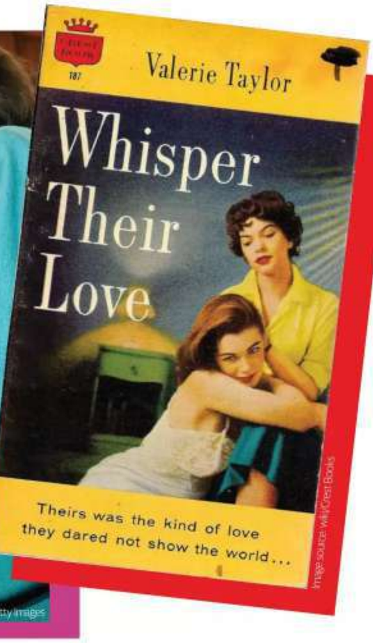
Valerie Taylor
Whisper Their Love
Theirs was the kind of love they dared not show the world...

Image source: wiki/Crest Books

One of the largest innovations during the LGBT+ rights movement of the 1950s to the 1970s was the use of writing. The Daughters Of Bilitis, a US-based lesbian activist group that began in 1955, published *The Ladder*, a highly successful magazine. *The Ladder* built on a tradition of LGBT+ women using the written word to express lesbian relationships.

"Some of the women who helped bring an awareness of a lesbian lifestyle into a wider public consciousness were those who wrote pulp novels," says historian Marcia M Gallo. "Valerie Taylor, through writing about taboo subjects, formulated an idea of a woman who is not the norm, a woman outside the social structure of the era, not simply the typical housewife but who has lesbian lovers. Taylor wrote seven lesbian-themed paperback novels and became involved with the Daughters Of Bilitis and their newsletter *The Ladder*."

Gallo is the author of *Different Daughters: A History Of The Daughters Of Bilitis And The Rise Of The Lesbian Rights Movement*, and personally knew and interviewed many of its key members. "I was born in 1961 and come from Wilmington, Delaware. I grew up Catholic, went to Catholic school but it was the 1970s and I started to realise that there was a big world out there," she explains. "I moved to San Francisco with friends and I started to explore lesbian relationships myself. Here, I worked at the American Civil Liberties Union, one of the few places where you could be out, so many women and men who were part of the early gay rights movement were members. Through my work with ACLU, I was able to meet Phyllis Lyon and Del Martin, two of the founders of the Daughters Of Bilitis."

The Ladder began in 1956 to publicise the activities of the group, which were almost strictly social. "They really wanted a place where women could gather together with other women safely, meet friends, lovers, and have a community," Gallo says. "Initially, it was secret and it was only when they were having difficulty getting members that they put something in writing that explained what they were about. So that was the genesis of the first ongoing lesbian magazine, running until 1972. They were able to publish some really bad poetry, as well as some really amazing short stories from both budding and famous authors. They turned what had been this little broadsheet into a well-respected magazine.

"One of the women who had one of the biggest impacts on the magazine was Barbara Gittings, who started editing in 1963. Her first innovation was to put 'Lesbian Review' on the cover. She wanted it to be clear that this was a magazine by and for lesbians, which was very controversial within the organisation, but she prevailed. Her second innovation was to put photographs of real lesbians on the cover. They decided they wanted to show the women who were part of the organisation and the lesbian rights movement. That was a huge change at that time. As a result many writers started to shift from pseudonyms to coming out and being open about who they were.

"*The Ladder* also helped introduce American readers to *Arena Three* magazine and the work of the Minorities Research Group. It really had this phenomenal impact and laid the basis for a number of other publications to rise up throughout the 1970s and 1980s."

> "SOME OF THE WOMEN WHO HELPED BRING AN AWARENESS OF A LESBIAN LIFESTYLE INTO A WIDER PUBLIC CONSCIOUSNESS WERE THOSE WHO WROTE PULP NOVELS"

JACKIE FORSTER 1926-1998

© Shutterstock

Born in 1926, Jackie Forster was 21 when she had her first lesbian experience. An actress, news reporter and activist, she had been living and travelling the US. Returning to the UK in 1964, she became involved in the Minorities Research Group and wrote occasionally for their pioneering publication *Arena Three*. It was the closure of this in 1971 that would inspire her to create *Sappho*. Named after the poet Sappho of the island of Lesbos, the magazine had a more progressive feminist voice than its predecessor. Forster would distribute the magazine in venues such as Gateways (a London nightclub and the oldest lesbian club in the world), and at its height *Sappho* had a circulation of 1,000. In her later years Forster was instrumental in the work of the Lesbian Archive And Information Centre. Unapologetic and not afraid to say the truth just as she saw it, Forster fought tirelessly against stereotypes and oppression.

MARK ASHTON 1960-1987

Mark Ashton was only 23 when he co-founded Lesbians And Gays Support The Miners, whose story was told in the 2014 film *Pride*. A committed socialist, he was a member of the Communist Party of Great Britain and general secretary of the Young Communist League. LGSM was formed with longtime friend Mike Jackson in 1984 after both expressed anger at the Thatcher administration's response to the miners strikes in which all donations to the National Union of Mineworkers were at this point sequestered as part of a Government's strategy to tackle the strikes. As such, groups supporting the miners were encouraged to 'twin' themselves with a specific mining community, providing direct support instead. LGSM was twinned with Neath, Dulais and the Swansea Valleys Support Groups. The support LGSM provided was unprecedented and culminated in the Pits and Perverts benefit concert headlined by Bronski Beat, not only helping to raise funds for the miners but also providing greater awareness of LGBT+ groups. In 1985 the National Union of Miners attended London Pride and lead the parade, and in 1988 joined a campaign to stop Section 28. Ashton passed away in 1987 after being diagnosed with HIV.

LESBIANS & GAYS
SUPPORT THE MINERS
/SWGMC
@SWGMC

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Image source: wiki/Johnny Orr

MARSHA P JOHNSON 1945-1992

A founding member of the Gay Liberation Front and a key instigator in the Stonewall Riots, self-identifying drag queen Marsha P Johnson was a pioneer of LGBT+ activism. In 1970 she founded STAR (Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries), a radical political collective that also provided housing and support to homeless LGBT+ people. Working alongside friend and fellow activist Sylvia Rivera both, due to their LGBT+ identities, had regularly experienced homelessness themselves. Often, when they were able to stay in a hotel room, they would sneak homeless friends in, supposedly up to 50 in a room. The intent of STAR was to obtain a building that could be used to provide temporary respite for such individuals. After hosting a dance, they were able to purchase a rundown four-bedroom apartment that they worked to repair and refurbish. The STAR house lasted only a year, but was influential in its concept. The movement then shifted its focus and sought greater recognition for trans individuals, not only within society at large but within the gay liberation movement itself. STAR would see a sharp decline in the following years but Johnson continued her activism for the LGBT+ community with the AIDS Coalition To Unleash Power, or ACT UP. Known for her optimistic attitude, no-matter the prejudice she faced, Johnson would regularly state that the 'P' stood for 'Pay it no mind'.

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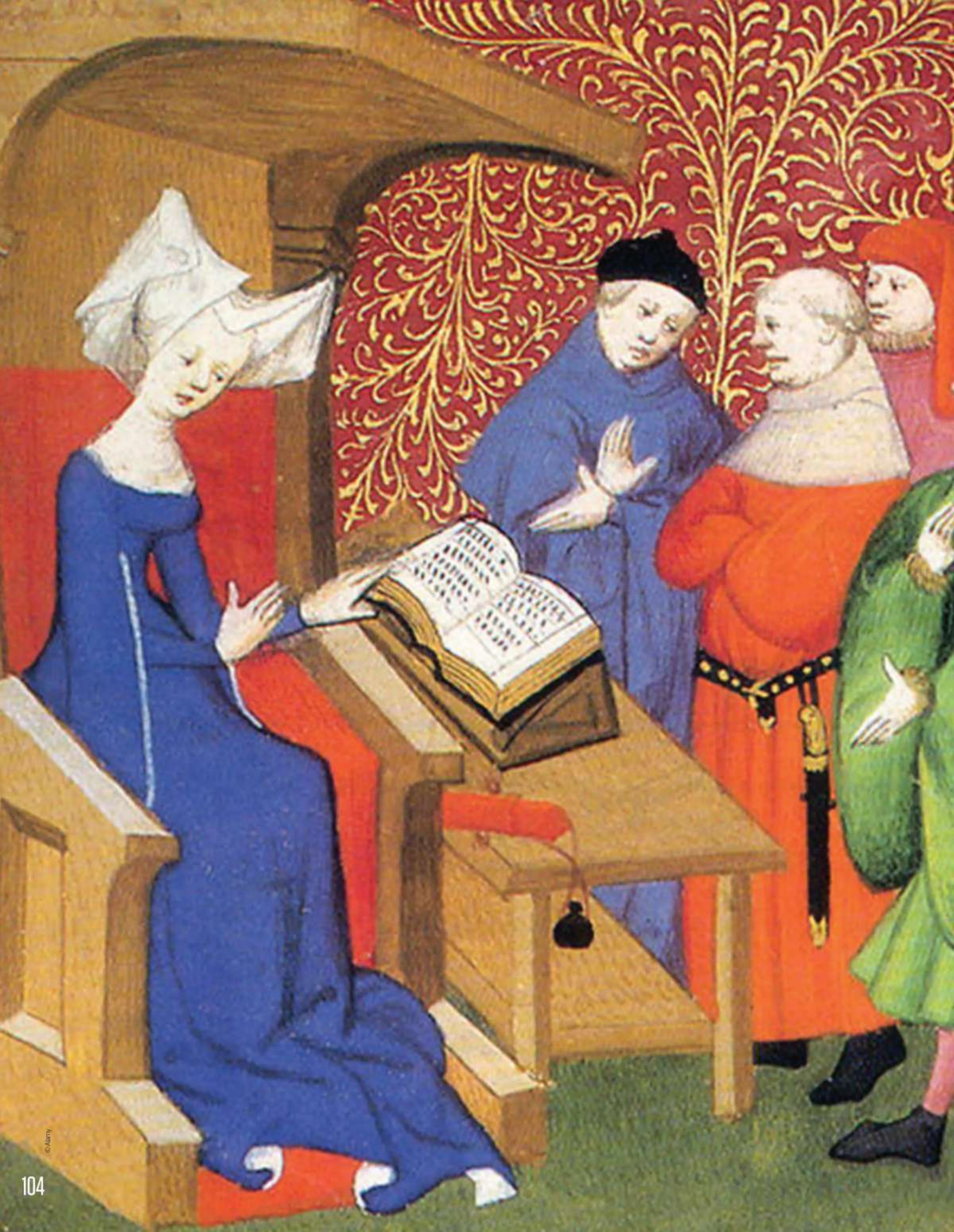
WHERE WE ARE TODAY

The LGBT+ community has come a long way and achieved much since that first Pride march in June 1970. Yet it would be wrong to suggest that hatred towards individuals has gone away. As of 2020, 72 countries still criminalise same-sex relationships. In eight of these countries, homosexuality is punishable by the death penalty, or evidence exists of its use. In the United Kingdom, reports released in 2019 revealed an increase in homophobic crimes of 144% from 2013-14. This involved 11,600 individual crimes - more than double the 4,600 recorded before - while transphobic attacks rose from 550 to 1,600. When acknowledging this hatred, we must also recognise that there is still a vast amount of work to be done. The people listed here are a stark reminder of the importance of this fight and the bravery shown throughout the history of LGBT+ activism.

"THE PEOPLE LISTED HERE ARE A STARK REMINDER OF THE IMPORTANCE OF THIS FIGHT AND THE BRAVERY SHOWN THROUGHOUT THE HISTORY OF LGBT+ ACTIVISM"



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Defender of Women

Christine de Pizan, Europe's first professional female writer, used her words to fight the misogyny of her time

Written by Jessica Leggett

Christine de Pizan was undoubtedly one of the most revolutionary writers in history. She broke the mould at a time when both society and literature were dominated by men, building a career that was unprecedented for women in the Middle Ages. In the words of writer and philosopher Simone de Beauvoir, Pizan was the first woman to "take up her pen in defence of her sex".

Pizan was born in Venice in 1364. Her father was Thomas de Pizan, a councillor for the Republic of Venice and a physician, but unfortunately we don't know who her mother was, other than that she was an aristocratic woman. When she was four-years-old, Pizan and her family moved to Paris after her father was appointed the court astrologer to King Charles V – she would remain in France for the rest of her life.

We know that Pizan's father encouraged her to learn, giving his daughter the same education as her two younger brothers, a highly unusual decision for the time. In her most famous work, *The Book Of The City Of Ladies*, the character Lady Rectitude tells her, "Your father, who was a natural philosopher, was not of the opinion that women grow worse by becoming educated."

On the other hand, Pizan's mother believed her daughter should stick to the traditional, domestic education of women, as Lady Rectitude reminds her: "Your mother, however, who held the usual feminine ideas on the matter, wanted you to spend your time spinning… prevented you from making more progress and going deeper into science and learning in your childhood."

It is thought that with her father's position at court, Pizan would have had access to the king's royal library and therefore would have been able to read the extensive collection of books there. At the age of 15, she married Etienne du Castel, a court secretary. The couple had a happy marriage and they had three children together, with Pizan's duties as a mother taking her away from her studying.

Sadly, her world turned upside down when her father died in 1388 and the following year, Etienne succumbed to the plague after a decade together. Suddenly a young widow, it was up to Pizan to look after her three children (unfortunately, one of her two daughters died in childhood), her mother and niece.

Despite her education, Pizan was never taught how to deal with her husband's finances and so she found herself in an uphill battle, fighting lawsuits for over a decade in an attempt to get her rightful inheritance. Her experience would eventually inspire her to write *The Treasure Of The City Of Ladies* in 1405, a manual which included advice on various topics – such as managing a husband's affairs – for women of all social classes.

While it was normal and expected of young widows such as herself to remarry, Pizan refused to do so and instead sought refuge in her education and writing. She wrote poems lamenting the loss of her husband and her widowhood, and produced ballads about courtly love, a popular literary tradition of the time that focused on chivalry and illicit romantic relationships between ladies and knights.

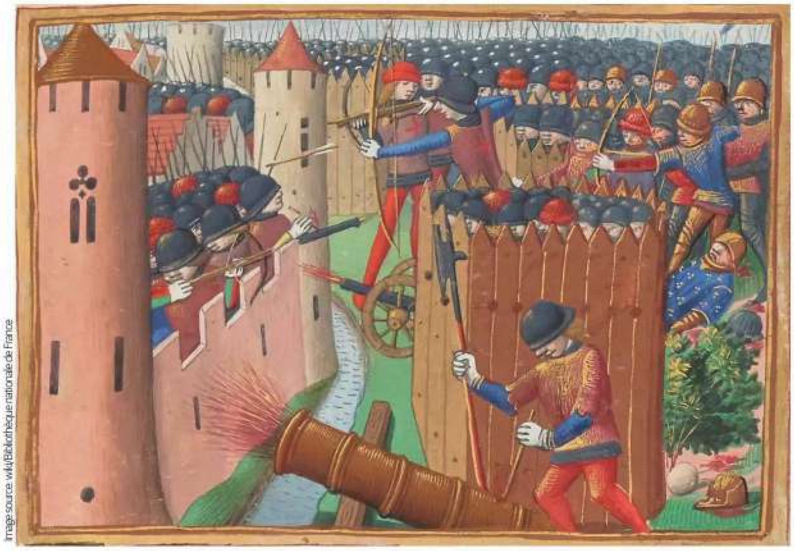


Image source: wiki/Bibliothèque nationale de France

ABOVE Pizan was inspired to write about Joan of Arc after her victory at the Siege of Orléans

In fact, Pizan wrote so many of them that she published her first book, *One Hundred Ballads*, in 1393. The book was received warmly at the French court and as a result she started receiving offers of financial patronage that enabled her to successfully earn a living from her writing. In one of her later works, *Le Livre De La Mutacion De Fortune*, Christine would comment "de femelle devins masle" – that she had transformed from a woman into a man in order to support her family.

Among her many patrons were King Henry IV of England; Louis I, Duke of Orléans; and Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy; who commissioned her to write a biography of his brother, King Charles V, who had died in 1380. Not only did she dedicate and present her works to those who supported her financially, but it is believed that Pizan also produced some of them in her own scriptorium in Paris. It's thought that she personally oversaw the creation of these beautifully illustrated manuscripts and she even features in some of the images.

Although her career had begun with tales of courtly love, it did not stay that way for long. In medieval society, women were subordinate to men, they had no legal independence (unless they were widowed) and for the majority of them their responsibilities were confined to the domestic sphere. The belief that women were inherently weak and defective was reinforced by popular histories and texts written by learned authors. Pizan, disappointed and frustrated with the "many wicked insults about women and their behaviour", wanted to change this narrative.

In 1399, she released her *L'Épistre Au Dieu D'amours*, a defence of women against the prevalent misogyny in the widely popular 13th century allegorical poem *Roman De La Rose*. The poem, first written by Guillaume de Lorris and then continued by Jean de Meun, portrayed women as greedy, manipulative and lustful seducers. Arguing that the poem was deeply misogynistic and degrading, Christine expanded on her criticism with a direct attack on de Meun and his poem with her book, *The Tale Of The Rose*, which was published in 1402.

Two years later, she criticised *Les Lamentations De Matheolus* by Matheolus, a French cleric and poet. In his work, Matheolus complained about women and argued that marriage made men miserable. For Pizan, this was an example of the frequent attacks made on women and marriage in support of clerical celibacy. It was while reading Matheolus' *Lamentations* that Pizan became inspired to write her greatest and most famous piece of work, the aforementioned *City Of Ladies*.

In the *City Of Ladies*, Pizan serves as the narrator and discusses how she had been blinded by the learned authors whose misogyny had convinced her that women were indeed inferior: "I could hardly find a book on morals where, even before I had read it in its entirety, I did not find several chapters or certain sections attacking women, no matter who the author was… I relied more on the judgment of others than on what I myself felt and knew. I was so transfixed in this line of thinking for such a long time that it seemed as if I were in a stupor."

As she wonders why women have yet to stand up to the accusations that are constantly levelled against them, Pizan is

"This belief that women were inherently weak and defective was reinforced by popular histories and texts written by learned authors"

Pizan's Patrons

Six people who enabled Pizan's brilliant writing career

John, Duke of Berry 1340-1416

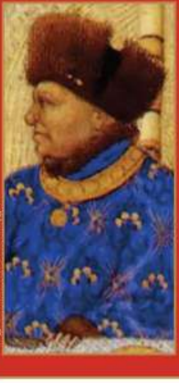


Image source: wiki/PetrusBarbygere

John, a brother of King Charles V, received the first manuscript of *Le Livre Du Chemine De Long Estude*, a dream allegory with political and philosophical themes. She also dedicated her *L'Épistre De La Prison De Vie Humaine* to his daughter Marie, Duchess of Bourbon, whose husband had been captured by the English following the Battle of Agincourt.

King Henry IV of England 1367-1413

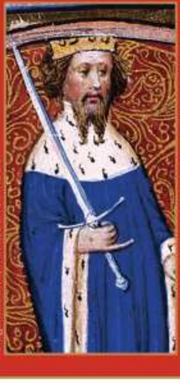


Image source: wiki/The National Archives UK

Just like his predecessor King Richard II, Henry tried to persuade Pizan to move to England and become his court poet, a testament to her talent and reputation. Although she refused his offer, we know that she presented the king with an edition of *L'Épistre De Othéa A Hector*, one of her most popular works, in 1404.

Isabeau of Bavaria, Queen of France c.1370-1435

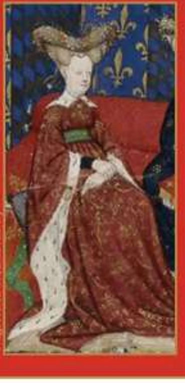
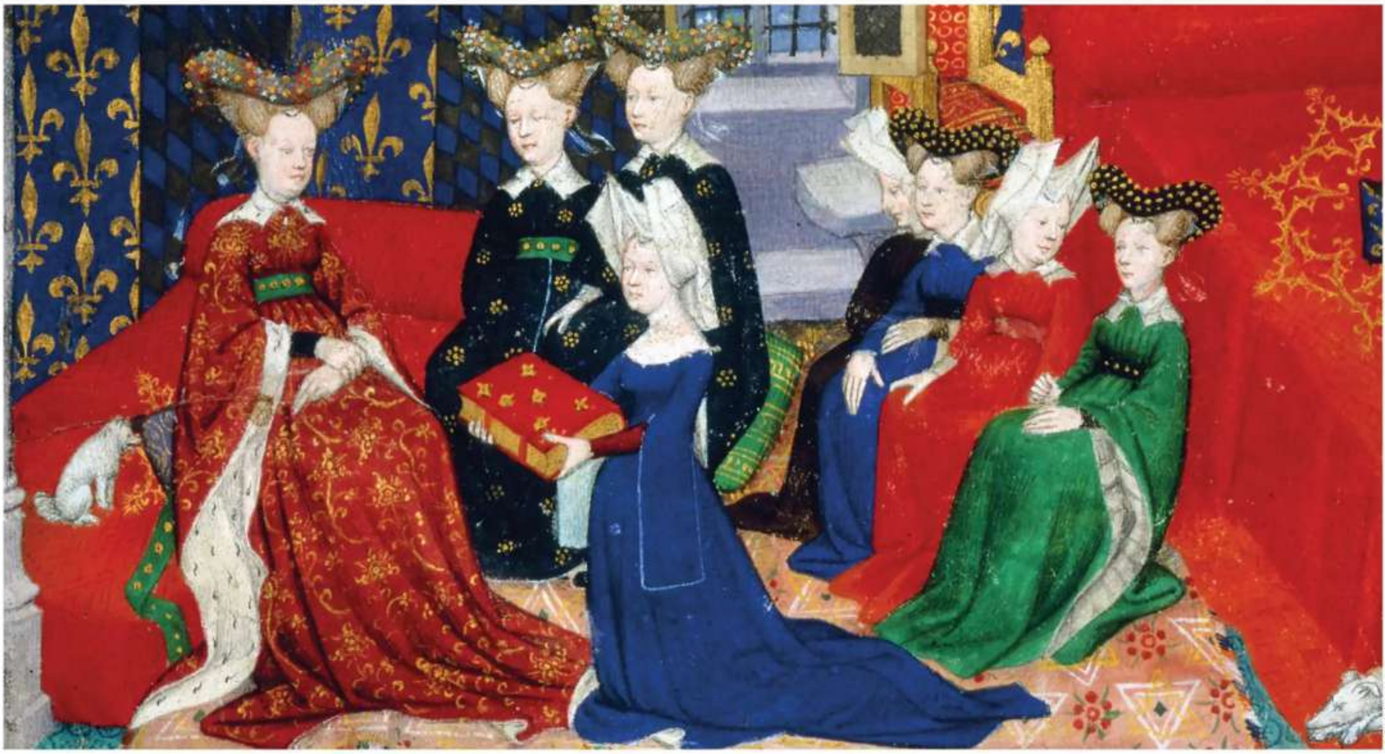


Image source: wiki/British Library

Queen Isabeau is arguably Pizan's most famous patron. With Isabeau acting as regent and Pizan becoming a professional author, these two women held unprecedented positions in medieval France. In 1414, Christine produced *The Book Of The Queen*, her largest manuscript containing a collection of her work, which she dedicated and presented to Isabeau.


© Getty Images

ABOVE Pizan presenting her book to Queen Isabeau, c.1410-1414

joined by three women of virtue - Reason, Rectitude and Justice - who tell her that it's her destiny to challenge this misogynistic treatment of women. With their help, she builds a symbolic city filled with remarkable women from history and recounts their stories, including Sappho; Medea; Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra; Helen of Troy and the Virgin Mary.

Altogether, Pizan includes 165 women in her city who made important contributions to society and are celebrated for being respectable, honourable, faithful and chaste. She uses their stories to dispute the claims made by male authors that women are evil and unfaithful creatures, arguing that "many foolish men have claimed this because it displeased them that women knew more than they did". She also takes the opportunity to advocate for girls to receive the same education as boys, stating, "If it were customary to send little girls to school like boys... they would learn as thoroughly the subtleties of all the arts and sciences."

While de Meun's *Roman De La Rose* criticised and denounced women, Pizan's city was a metaphor for feminine virtue and in her words "a refuge and defence against the various assailants, those ladies who have been abandoned for so long, exposed like a field without a surrounding hedge". With the *City Of Ladies*, she had given women the place in history that they deserved and highlighted the fact that women, including herself, had internalised the prejudice of men.

John the Fearless *1371-1419*

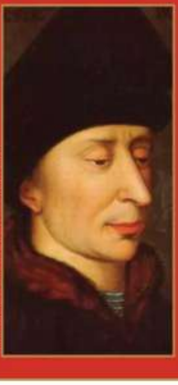


Image source: wiki/Palais des Beaux Arts de Lille

John gave Pizan several payments for her books and he notably paid her to finish the biography of his uncle, King Charles V, which his father Philip the Bold had commissioned before his death. Pizan also dedicated *The Treasure Of The City Of Ladies* to John's daughter, Margaret, Dauphine of France.

Louis I, Duke of Orléans *1372-1407*

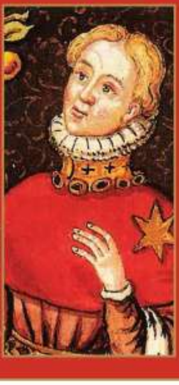
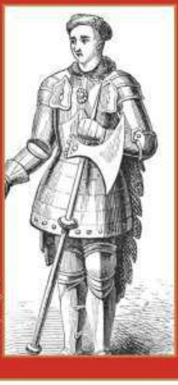


Image source: wiki/Bibliothèque nationale de France

The son of King Charles V and brother of King Charles VI, Louis was one of the members of the French court who took an interest in Pizan's early romantic ballads. She dedicated the first edition of her *L'Épistre De Othéa A Hector* to Louis and he supported her literary career right up until his murder in 1407.

Thomas Montagu, 4th Earl of Salisbury *1388-1428*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Both the earl and his father, John Montagu, were supporters of Pizan and her work. It is known that he offered her a different form of patronage by taking her young son, Jean, to England and giving him a place in his household. King Henry IV would later move Jean to his own household in an attempt to persuade Pizan to move to England.

Pizan's city was also inspired by Giovanni Boccaccio and his book *On Famous Women*, published in 1374, in which he included the biographies of over 100 illustrious women in history. However, he only praised the women who had lived chaste and obedient lives while criticising those who had public roles, for example as warriors or rulers, and Pizan set out to correct this with her own revised biographies.

Interestingly, Salic Law was introduced in France during the 14th century, which prevented women or anyone born from the female line from inheriting the throne. However, France has a long history of women stepping in to govern the country during the absence or minority of the king. This included Queen Blanche, who acted as regent twice on behalf of her son King Louis IX in the 13th century, and whom Christine declared governed France "so nobly and so prudently that it was never better ruled by any man".

> "Pizan firmly believed that women were equal to men and they should be treated as such"

Pizan's defence of female rulers was even more timely considering that when the *City Of Ladies* was published, Queen Isabeau was acting as regent of France on behalf of her husband, King Charles VI, who suffered with bouts of instability. While the queen found herself caught up in the hostility and power struggles that emerged in the absence of her husband, Pizan supported her and her role as a female regent, including her as one of the 165 women in the *City Of Ladies*.

Pizan's works triggered the 'querelle de femmes', also known as the woman question, an intellectual debate on the nature of women that would carry on into the 18th century. Arguably the starting point for early feminist thinking, the querelle de femmes debated what role women were to play in a society that was inherently patriarchal.

RIGHT The Louvre Palace during the reign of King Charles V

MIDDLE-RIGHT Christine offering a book to one of her patrons, Louis I, Duke of Orléans

FAR-RIGHT An illumination from the *City Of Ladies* depicting Christine with Rectitude, Reason and Justice

OPPOSITE Jean Gerson supported Pizan's criticism of the *Roman De La Rose*

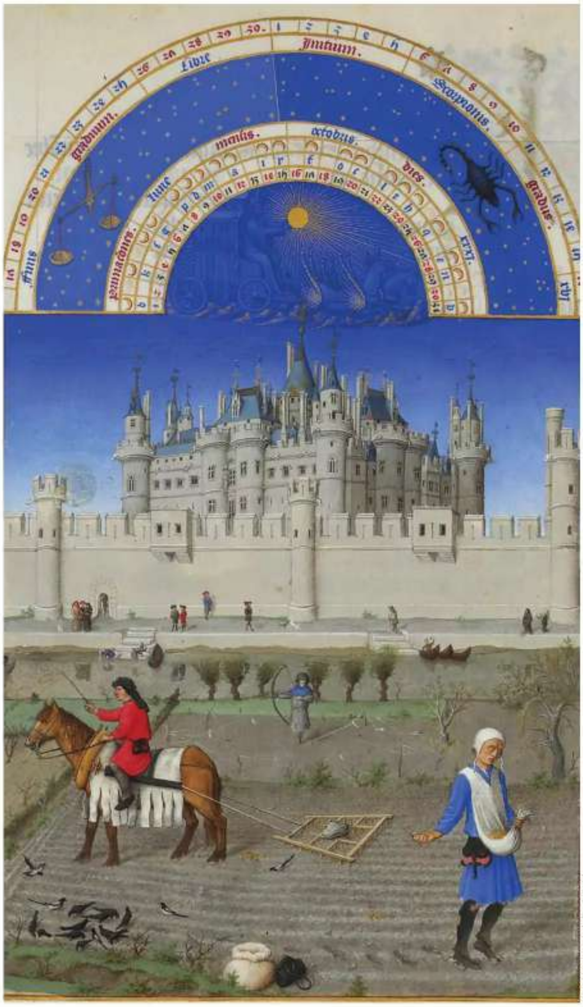


Image source: wiki/R-G Ojeda

Palace Politics

Pizan's work was not restricted to the defence of women

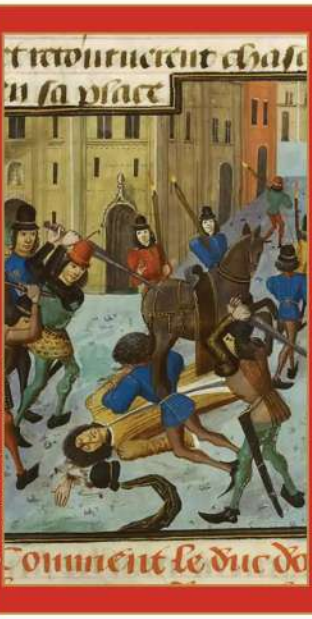


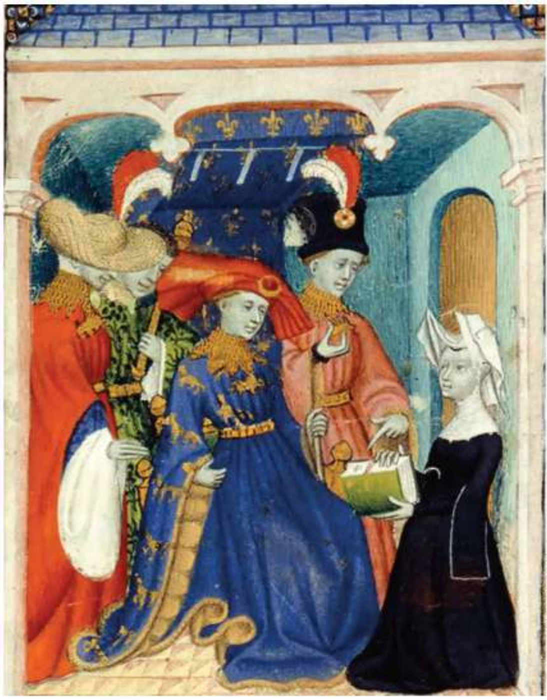
Image source: wiki/Bibliothèque nationale de France

During her lifetime, France was engulfed in social and political turmoil which greatly influenced her writing. The country was already in the midst of the Hundred Years' War against the English when King Charles VI's bouts of instability caused a power vacuum at court between the royal houses of Orléans and Burgundy, led by the king's brother Louis I, Duke of Orléans and his cousin, John the Fearless, respectively. In 1407, Louis was assassinated on John's orders, triggering a civil war that lasted almost three decades.

In response to all of this, Pizan wrote numerous works discussing the various issues in France, starting with one of her major political treatises, *The Book Of The Body Politic*. Published in 1407 and dedicated to the king's heir, Dauphin Louis, the treatise discussed social responsibility and education for all classes, from princes to the common people, and served as an instruction manual for the young ruler.

In 1410, Pizan was commissioned by an unknown patron to write *The Book Of Feats Of Arms And Of Chivalry* – essentially a book on the art of war. Describing how kings and princes should conduct war both on and off the battlefield, she argued that there are "many great wrongs in warfare" but also that "wars undertaken for a just cause are permitted by God". The manual was later translated and published in England by William Caxton for King Henry VII in 1489.

Pizan followed this with her last major work, *The Book Of Peace*, which was also dedicated to Dauphin Louis and was published in 1413. At a time when corruption and civil unrest was rife in France, she urged him to seek peace for the country, believing that he was capable of becoming a just ruler who could bring an end to the constant fighting. But, sadly, he died just two years later.



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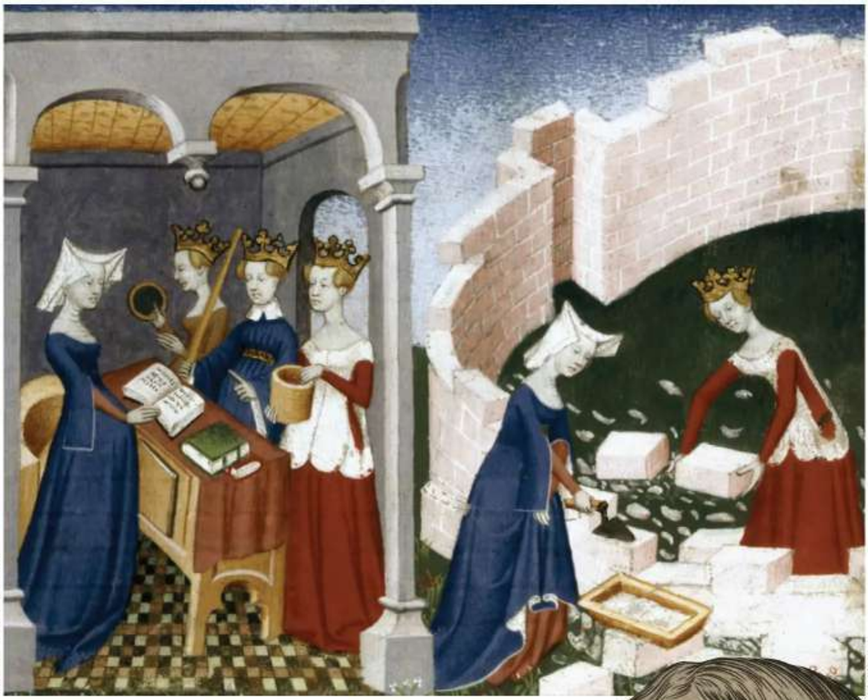

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The querelle began after Christine published her first criticism of *Roman De La Rose*, sparking a controversy among French intellectuals about the vilification of women in literary texts. She ended up exchanging letters with two French royal secretaries who opposed her arguments, Jean de Montreuil and Gontier Col, but she also received support, namely from Jean Gerson, the chancellor of the University of Paris.

Through her writing, Pizan opened up an opportunity for women to oppose the deep-set misogynistic views of the patriarchal society in which they lived. For the first time, a woman was speaking up for fellow women, instead of their merits and faults being discussed solely between men. She firmly believed that women were equal to men and they should be treated as such, and as a result she has often been identified as a feminist who championed women in medieval society.

Having said this, labelling Pizan as a feminist is not a straightforward matter. To start with, the word 'feminist' did not exist in her lifetime and to label her as one is anachronistic. Instead, she would most likely have seen herself as a defender or advocate for women. On top of this, we have to think about the world in which Pizan lived and not ours – we should not be holding her up as a hero of modern feminism.

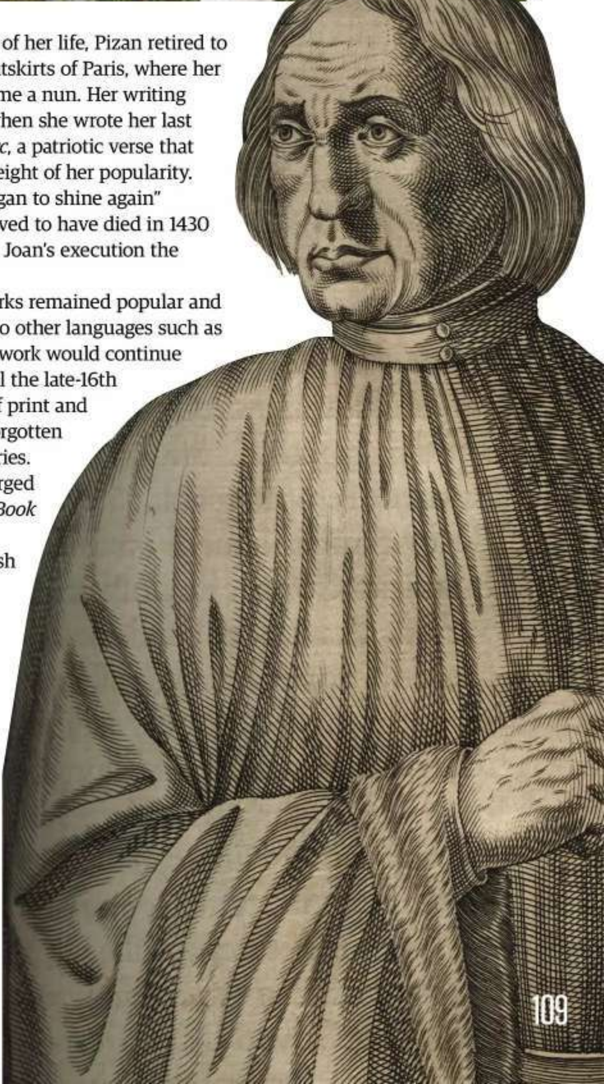
It is because of this that Pizan has often been criticised today for not questioning society in the way that we would expect modern feminists to do. After all, she never argued against the division of roles based on gender, she did not advocate for social, political or economic equality for women, and she did not appear to encourage them to aim for the independence that she had managed to gain for herself.

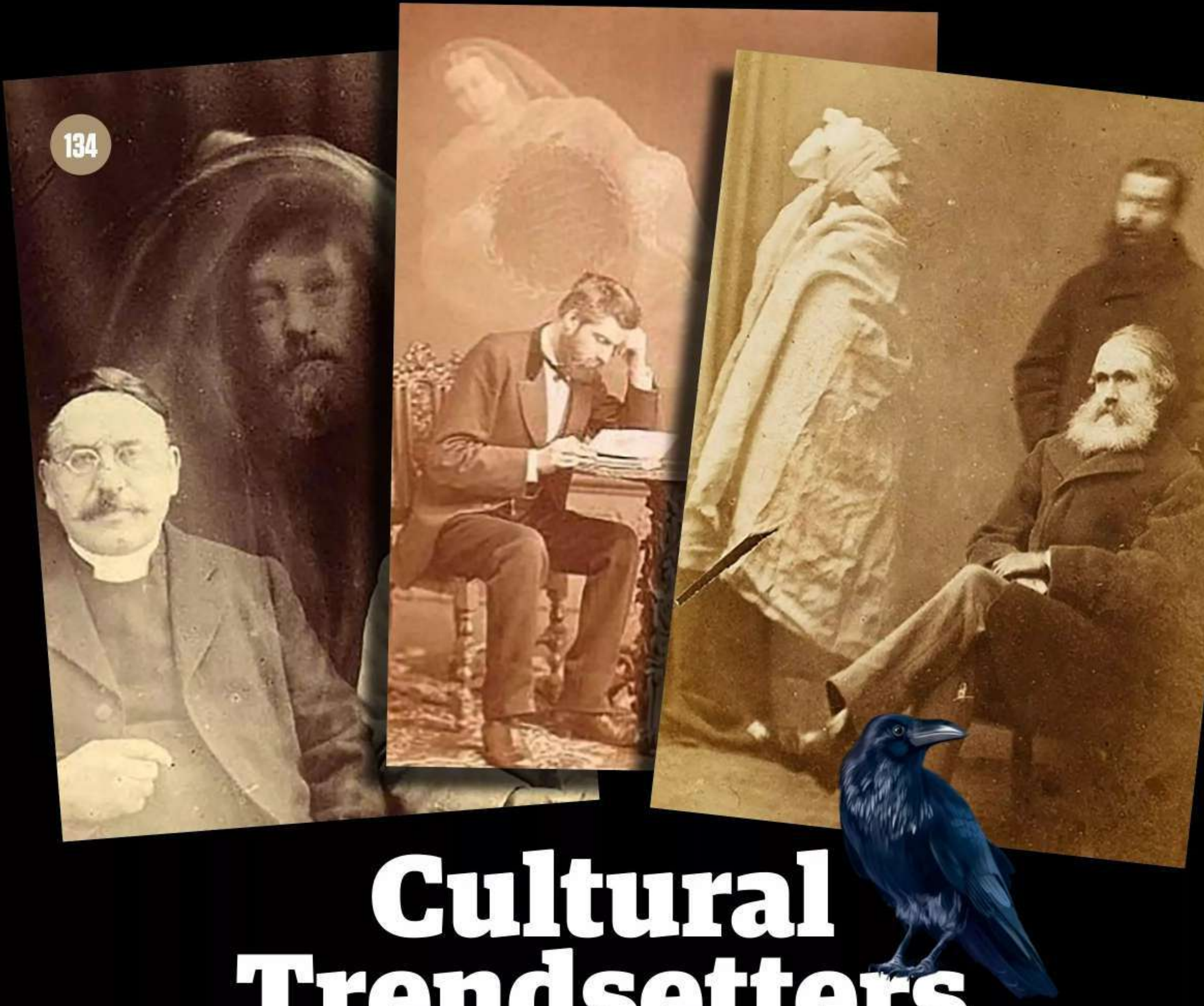
However, we have to remember that Pizan was restricted in terms of what she could confront if she wanted her arguments to be accepted, considering what was legally and 'morally' right in France during this period. Nevertheless, there is no denying that she argued in favour of women and made some huge accomplishments, setting a precedent to be followed – and perhaps making her a proto-feminist.

For around the last decade of her life, Pizan retired to the abbey at Poissy on the outskirts of Paris, where her surviving daughter had become a nun. Her writing ground to a halt until 1429, when she wrote her last poem, *The Tale Of Joan Of Arc*, a patriotic verse that celebrated Joan at the very height of her popularity. Proclaiming that "the sun began to shine again" thanks to Joan, Pizan is believed to have died in 1430 and so she did not live to see Joan's execution the following year.

After her death, Pizan's works remained popular and they were even translated into other languages such as English and Portuguese. Her work would continue to influence later writers until the late-16th century, when they fell out of print and were largely unknown and forgotten for the following three centuries. Although her writings reemerged in the late 19th century, *The Book Of The City Of Ladies* was not translated into modern English until 1982.

During her extraordinary lifetime, Pizan achieved her own independence and wrote over 40 texts, an exceptional feat for a woman of the time. Using her voice, she defended the intellectual and moral character of women and, although it would be centuries before women achieved equality, she most certainly paved the way for them. ○





Cultural Trendsetters

The rise of Jane Austen, the theatre that terrified Paris, the rise of the occult and more

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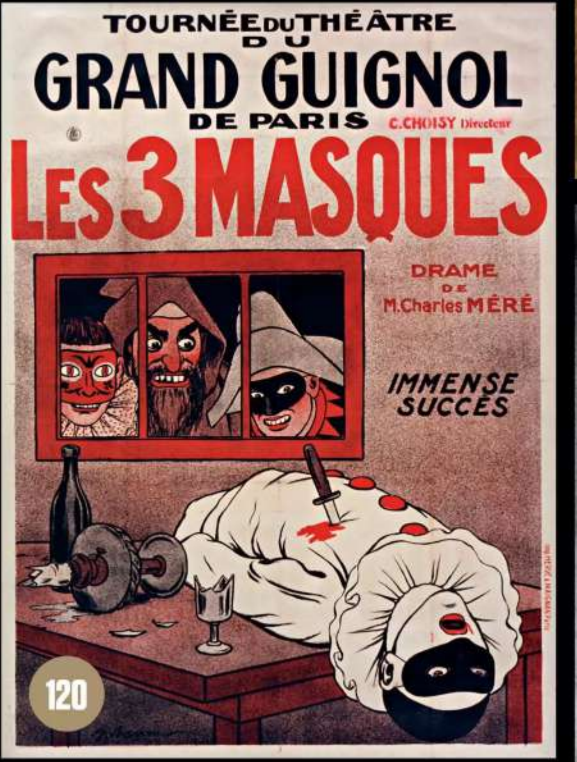

TOURNÉE DU THÉÂTRE DU
GRAND GUIGNOL
DE PARIS
C. CHOISY Directeur
LES 3 MASQUES
DRAME DE M. Charles MÉRÉ
IMMENSE SUCCÈS

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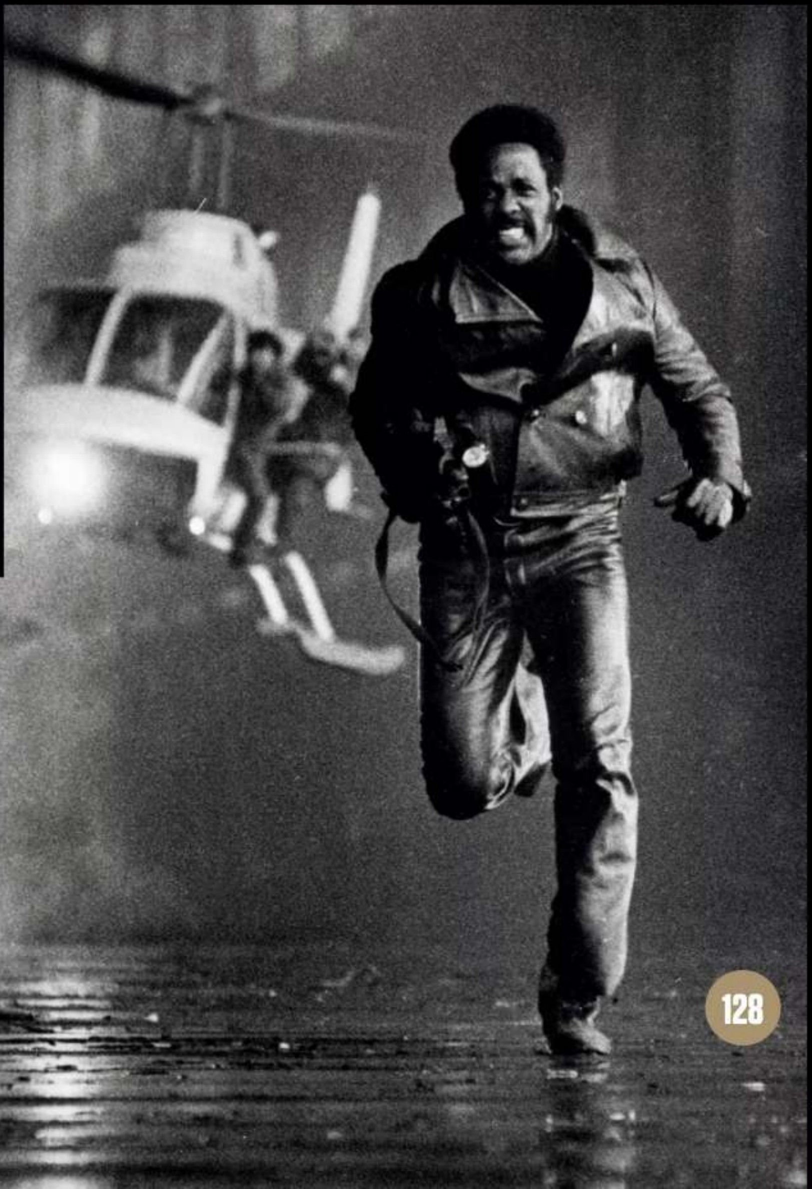

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What's So Great About Jane?

Historian and author Lucy Worsley discusses the life, work and legacy of Jane Austen and why she continues to fascinate us

Written by Jessica Leggett

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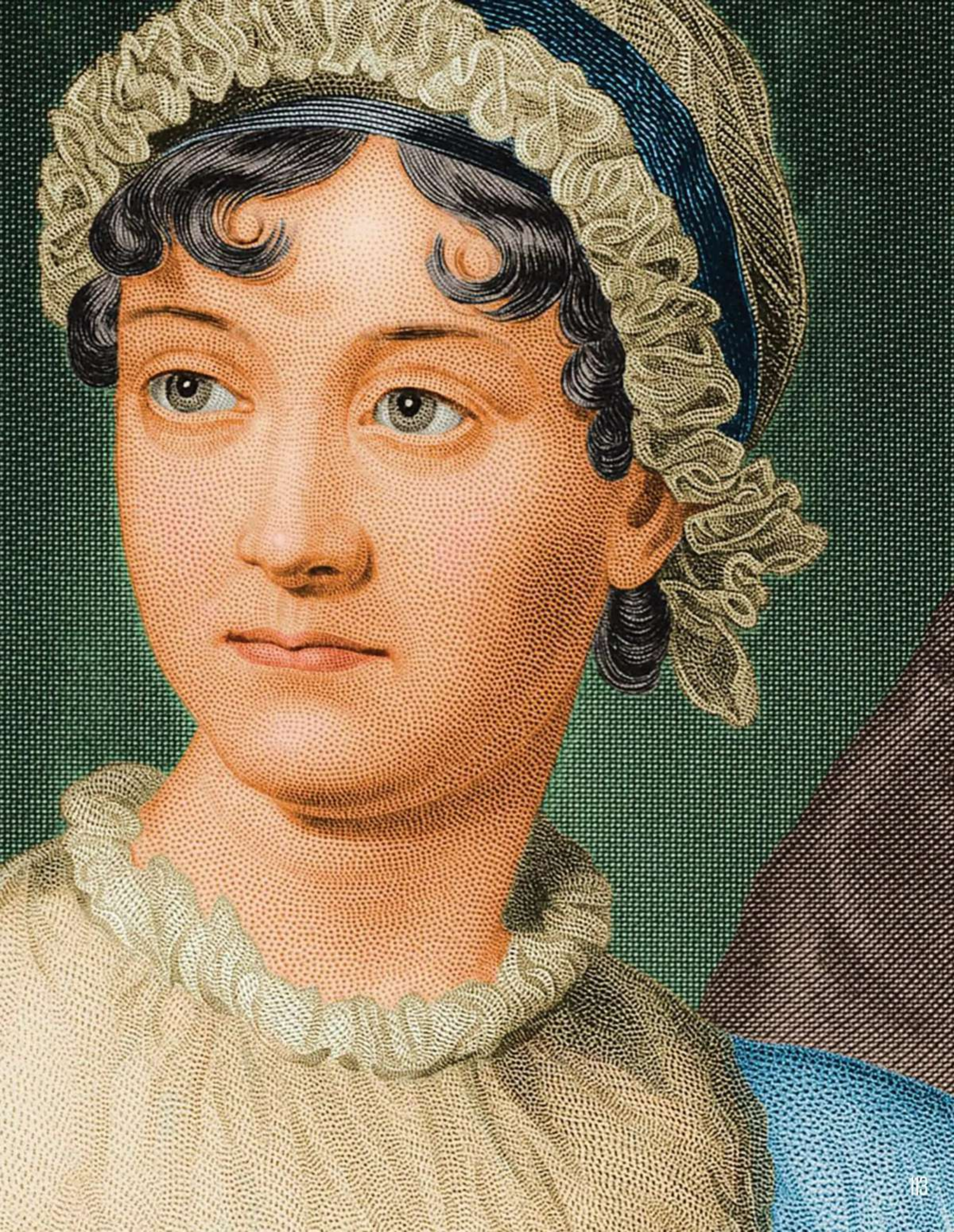
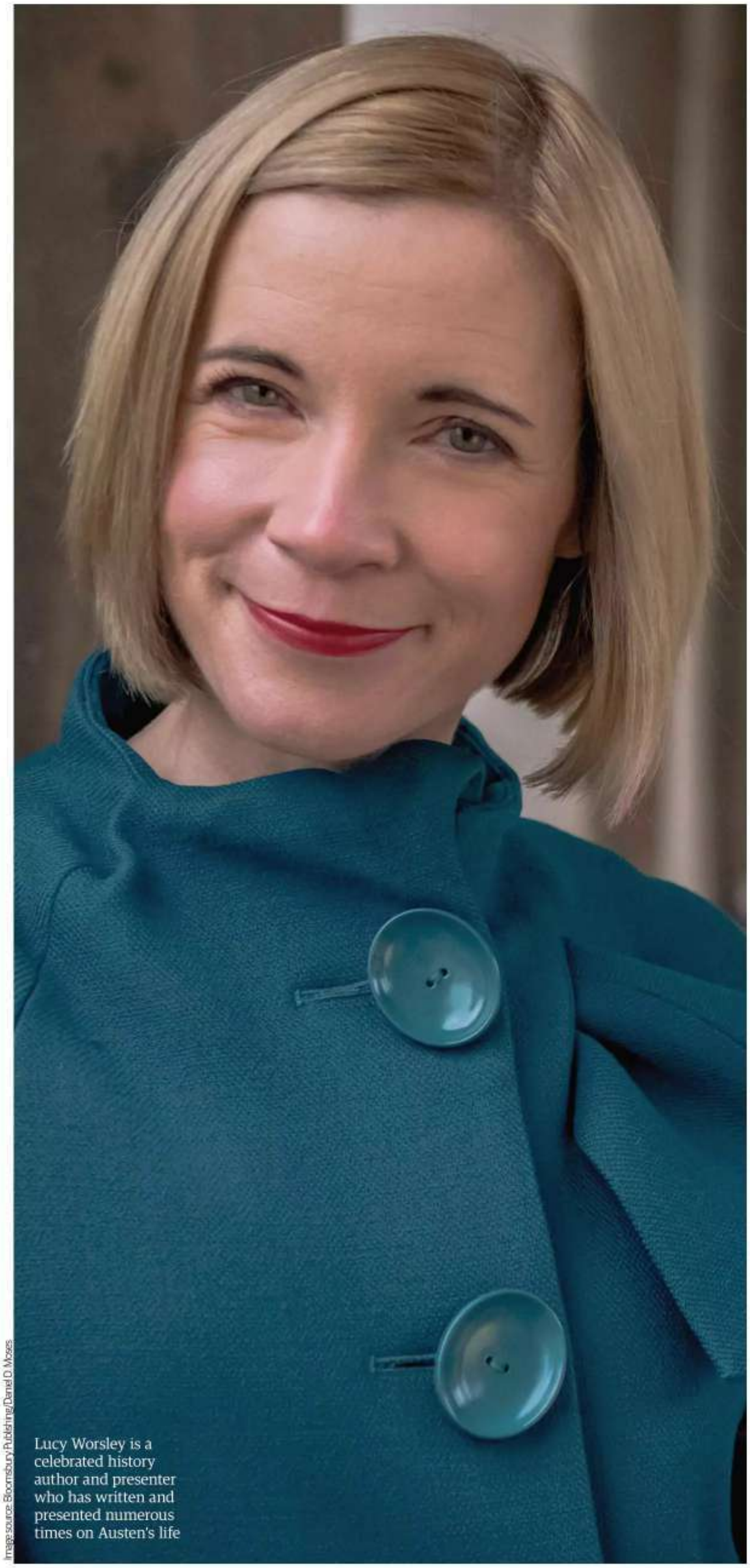




Lucy Worsley is a celebrated history author and presenter who has written and presented numerous times on Austen's life

Image source: Bloomsbury Publishing/Daniel D. Moses

In the pantheon of great authors through history a few names instantly spring to mind. William Shakespeare, obviously. Charles Dickens seems inarguable. Perhaps you're in the Mark Twain, George Orwell or Franz Kafka camps? But one of the few women whose place is cemented in such lists is Jane Austen. An author in the Georgian era, she is a colossus of her time who stands well above even some of the authors already mentioned in terms of popularity and cultural significance, not to mention the purely economic measure of sales. *Pride And Prejudice* alone has sold in excess of 20 million copies worldwide, which places it alongside *Animal Farm* and *Huckleberry Finn* in terms of reach. But where has Austen's longevity come from and to what extent is her writing reflective of the times she lived in? These were the questions we hoped to find answers to, but first some background on who she really was.

Jane Austen was born on 16 December 1775 in the village of Steventon, Hampshire, the second daughter of George Austen, a clergyman, and Cassandra Leigh. Jane had an older sister, also named Cassandra, and six brothers, James, George, Edward, Henry, Francis and Charles. The Austens may have been a large family but they were all very close and affectionate, with family bonds becoming an important theme of Jane's work.

Her passion for reading and writing was encouraged by her father, who allowed her to read books from his library, with Jane writing her own stories and poems from roughly around the age of 11. According to Cassandra, Jane read a novel entitled *Elinor And Marianne* to the family sometime before 1796, which was later revised and published as *Sense And Sensibility* in 1811. In 1796, she began working on a second novel, *First Impressions*, completing her first draft in 1797, which would eventually be published as *Pride And Prejudice*.

> *"Jane saw herself as part of a sisterhood of Georgian female novelists, such as Frances Burney and Maria Edgeworth"*

The Austens moved to Bath in 1801 after her father's retirement, and the following year Jane famously accepted a proposal from Mr Harris Bigg-Wither, only to revoke her acceptance the very next day when she realised she couldn't marry someone she had no affection for. In 1805, Jane's father passed away, leaving Jane, her sister and mother with little income to survive on. For the next few years the women moved several times until 1809, when they were offered a place to live on Edward's estate at Chawton, which he inherited from a distant, wealthy cousin.

It was at Chawton where Jane had the most productive writing period of her life, anonymously publishing four of her major works: *Sense And Sensibility*, *Pride And Prejudice*, *Mansfield Park* and *Emma*. Her brother, Henry, acted as her literary agent. Sadly, Jane's health began to deteriorate in 1816 and in May 1817 she left Chawton and moved to Winchester with Cassandra to be closer to her doctor. Just two months later, on 18 July 1817, Jane succumbed to her illness, which is believed today to have been Addison's disease, passing away in her sister's arms.

She was buried in the north aisle of the nave of Winchester Cathedral and Henry and Cassandra arranged for the publication of her last two complete novels, *Northanger Abbey* and *Persuasion*. Thanks to a biographical note written by Henry, Jane was identified as the author of all six novels for the first time. Since

1833, her works have never been out of print and are loved by millions of people around the world who adore her unique wit, humour and satire.

To dig into her life and history a little more we turned to a self-confessed Austen fan, Dr Lucy Worsley, who has published a biography of Jane titled *Jane Austen At Home: A Biography*, presented the BBC documentary *Jane Austen: Behind Closed Doors* and written a new novel, *The Austen Girls*, which is out now. We asked her to offer us some insight into the life and work of one of the world's most celebrated authors.

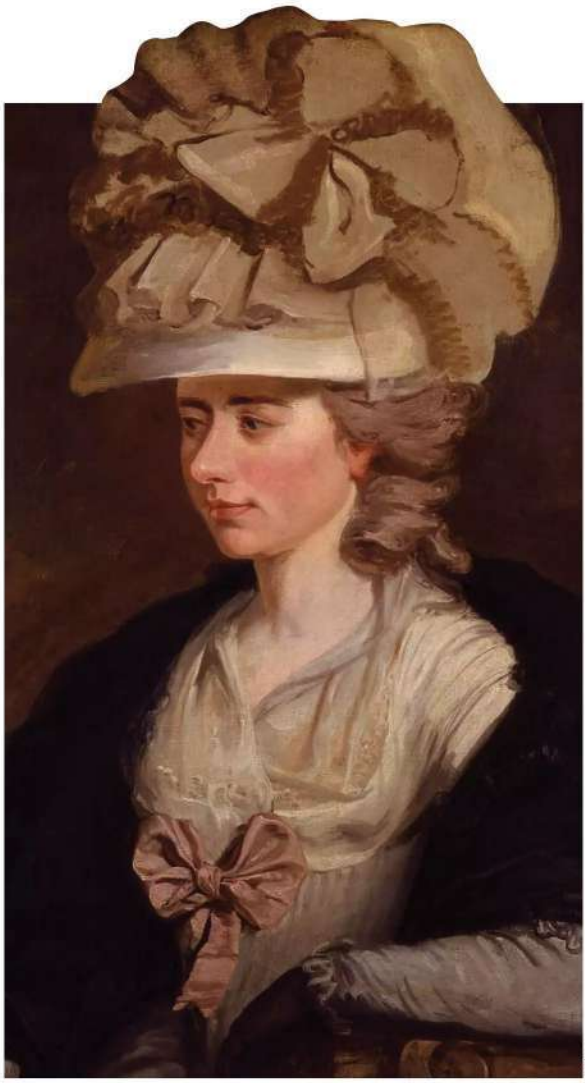
* * *

What is it about Jane Austen that inspired you to research her life and work?

I've had a lifelong love of Jane Austen novels, but it was only as an adult that I came to realise that her own life was just as fascinating as her stories. On the face of it nothing happens: she lived quietly in genteel poverty and died at the heartbreakingly young age of 41. But in reality it was a life full of drama, defying family expectations by her refusal to get married, scraping together a living as the poor relation of the wealthy, and taking the terrible gamble of trying to live as a professional writer at a time it was almost unheard of for women. The awful thing is that it didn't pay off: she could glimpse success ahead of her, but when she died she wasn't rich and famous. Far from it. Her books had been published without even having her name on their covers – it was more 'ladylike' to be anonymous.

You've previously written a biography about Austen through the lens of the homes in which she lived – did you discover anything that surprised you?

I was surprised to discover that she didn't live in some magnificent piece of Georgian property porn, the sort of house that we imagine Pemberley or Mansfield Park to be like. Jane had access to such houses, because there were some genuine toffs in ▶



RIGHT Frances Burney was a fellow writer and contemporary of Jane Austen

© Alamy

Jane Austen Trivia

Five surprising facts about the beloved author

Who knew that Jane brewed her own beer? In a letter to her sister Cassandra in January 1800, Jane told her, "We are brewing spruce beer again." During this period, brewing was a traditional chore for women because water was often contaminated and it was considered safer to drink beer.

Jane started writing satirical works when she was just a teenager with *Love And Friendship*, an epistolary novel which she wrote in 1790 to parody romantic novels. The following year, Jane wrote *The History Of England*, a comical parody of the standard history books which were popular at the time.

Jane's father was proud of his daughter's work and after she completed her first draft of *First Impressions* in 1797, he sent it to a London publisher, Thomas Cadell. Cadell rejected the novel without even reading it and it remains unknown whether Jane knew about her father's efforts.

While there are many things about Jane that remain a mystery to us, we do know she enjoyed bilbocatch, also known as the cup-and-ball game, and the exact toy she played with still exists today. In his memoir about her life, her nephew James Edward Austen-Leigh wrote "her performances with cup and ball were marvellous".

Emma has a dedication from Austen to the Prince Regent, the future King George IV. The prince was a fan of her novels and she was invited to dedicate a future work to him by his librarian. But she loathed the prince and the dedication is famously considered to be unenthusiastic.

4x © Getty Images

her family. These people were so anxious about the family's status that they placed enormous pressure on Jane to pipe down and marry up, preferably to a plutocrat. But instead of doing that, she lived her short life in a succession of small, sometimes rather grim houses and cottages, because that was all she could afford. It might have been grim, but at least she had something like creative freedom.

What are the biggest challenges you have faced during your research?

She was a very clever (and very private) person, and has run rings around her would-be biographers by leaving such tricky, fragmented, elusive records for her life. For example, people can't even agree upon what she really looked like, for during her lifetime no one except her sister cared enough what she looked like to try to capture a likeness. Her sister was also responsible for destroying a lot of Jane's letters – I think because Jane could be so funny-slash-cruel about other family members that Cassandra burned them rather than have relatives be upset.

How much of Austen's work draws upon autobiographical elements from her own life?

You can't straightforwardly trace places and people from real life in her work, Jane was far too clever for that, but all her novels open with a situation which Jane herself knew all too well: in which an upper-crust young Georgian woman is placed under pressure to marry, and to marry for money. The underlying message of her books, I think, is political. By satirising Georgian society so sharply, Jane was really saying, 'Look, life shouldn't be like this. This is terrible.' That's how change begins.

Do we know whether Austen was influenced by other contemporary writers or literary figures?

Jane saw herself as part of a sisterhood of Georgian female novelists, such as Frances Burney and Maria Edgeworth. She was operating in a marketplace where there was a little bit of space for women writers, but they were supposed to pretend that they'd been driven to the vulgarity of selling their work only by family tragedy or illness. Jane herself felt unable to tell her family what she'd done – although as her work began to take off, it became impossible to keep the secret and word got out.

What do you think is unique about Austen and her style of writing?

She found it really hard to get a publisher at first because her novels were simply too 'novel'. At first, editors said, 'This is no good, where are the pirates? Or the ghosts?' Her works were brilliantly observed, subtle but biting satires on people who seemed almost horribly familiar to her upper-class Georgian readers. It's a way of observing and describing the world that makes me think that if she were alive today she'd be writing for some topical and fast-moving TV drama.

© Alamy

> "Her works were brilliantly observed, subtle but biting satires on people who seemed almost horribly familiar to her Georgian readers"

ABOVE-LEFT Jane Austen's writing table is on display at the Jane Austen Museum along with numerous other artefacts

ABOVE-RIGHT This letter is from Jane to her sister Cassandra, who ultimately destroyed most of their correspondence

LEFT While her work has been adapted many times Anne Hathaway portrayed Austen herself in the 2007 film, *Becoming Jane*

Austen's novels remain popular worldwide but how were they received during her lifetime?

During her lifetime her novels made her around £800 – a lot compared to her pocket-money of £20 a year, but a sum that represents only six months' income for a Georgian professional man such as a doctor or solicitor. So while they were popular beyond the imaginings of her family, they were far from being the chart-topping successes that they'd become in Victorian times and on. I have a great lingering sense of injustice about that.

Today, Austen is frequently labelled as a feminist icon. Do you think it's correct to call her a feminist and how do you think she would react to being identified as such?

It's wrong to call her 'a feminist', she would have denied that totally. But what she did in her work – and through the risks she took and sacrifices she made in her personal life so as to be able to produce that work – she would ultimately make the world a better place for women. So that I think makes her a feminist of sorts, and it's okay to claim her as such.

Why do you think Austen continues to fascinate us, even though it has been over 200 years since her death?

It's because the world she shows us is a world full of barriers and restrictions, which is inherently dramatic. The reason her

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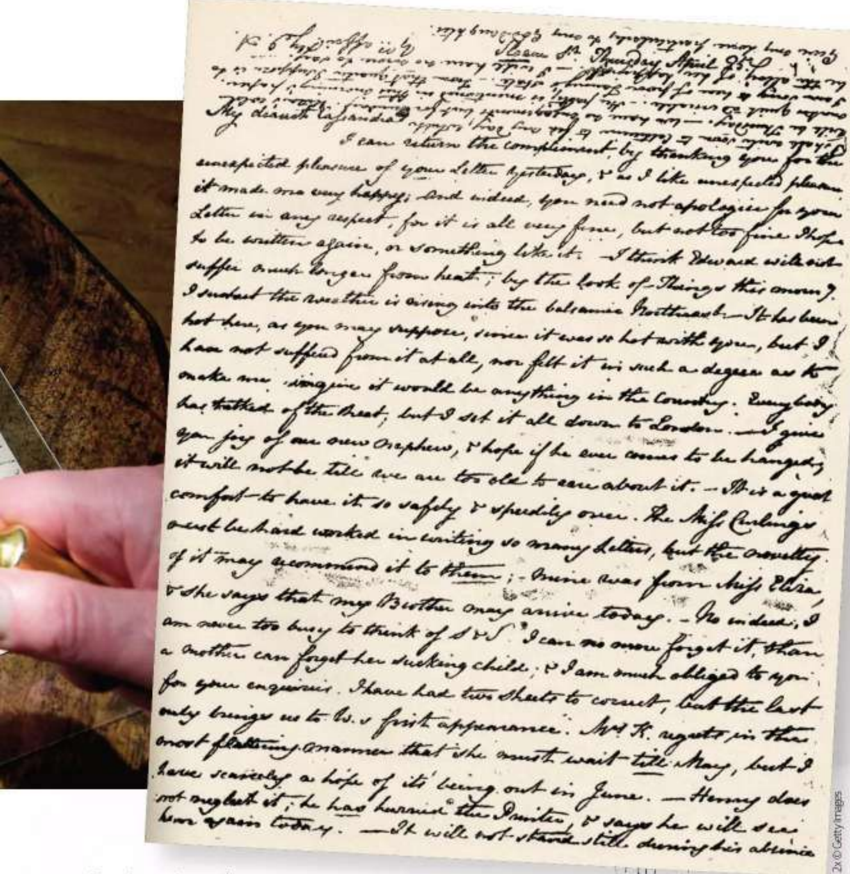

Sloane St. Thursday April 25.

My dearest Cassandra

I can return the compliment by thanking you for the unexpected pleasure of your Letter yesterday, & as I like unexpected pleasure, it made me very happy; and indeed, you need not apologise for your Letter in any respect, for it is all very fine, but not too fine I hope to be written again, or something like it. — I think Edward will not suffer much longer from heat; by the look of Things this morng I suspect the weather is rising into the balsamic Northeast. — It has been hot here, as you may suppose, since it was so hot with you, but I have not suffered from it at all, nor felt it in such a degree as to make me imagine it would be anything in the Country. Everybody has talked of the heat, but I set it all down to London. — I give you joy of our new nephew, & hope if he ever comes to be hanged, it will not be till we are too old to care about it. — It is a great comfort to have it so safely & speedily over. The Miss Curlings must be hard worked in writing so many Letters, but the novelty of it may recommend it to them; — mine was from Miss Eliza, & she says that my Brother may arrive today. — No indeed, I am never too busy to think of S & S. I can no more forget it, than a mother can forget her sucking child; & I am much obliged to you for your enquiries. I have had two sheets to correct, but the last only brings us to W.s first appearance. Mrs K. regrets in the most flattering manner that she must wait till May, but I have scarcely a hope of its being out in June. — Henry does not neglect it; he has hurried the Printer, & says he will see him again today. — It will not stand still during his absence

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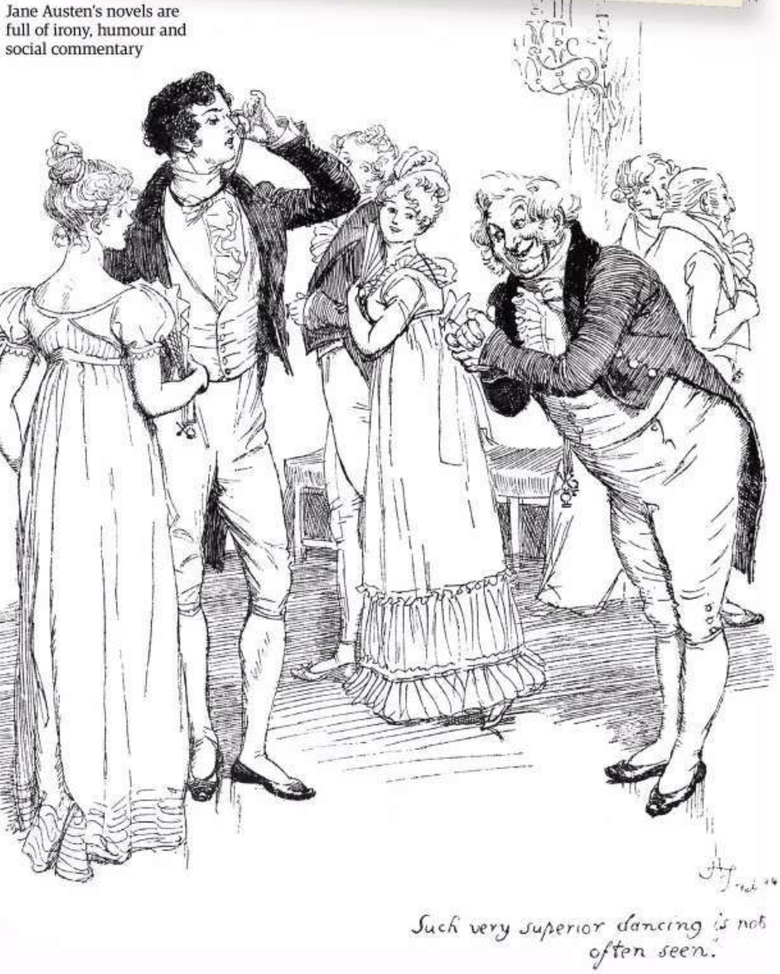
Jane Austen's novels are full of irony, humour and social commentary



Such very superior dancing is not often seen.

Austen's World

Trace Jane's life and legacy through these five important locations

© Getty Images

JANE AUSTEN'S HOUSE MUSEUM

Chawton, Hampshire

Occupying the cottage where she spent the last eight years of her life, a visit to this museum is a must for any true Austen fan. Open to the public since 1949, the museum houses an important collection of objects associated with Jane including her jewellery, letters and even the table where she wrote her novels.

© Alamy

THE JANE AUSTEN CENTRE

Bath, Somerset

Jane lived in Bath during her father's retirement and it was used as a backdrop for her final two completed novels, *Northanger Abbey* and *Persuasion*. The Jane Austen Centre, which is located in an original Georgian townhouse, explores the writer's time in Bath and the impact that it had on her life and her novels.

© Getty Images

LYME REGIS

Dorset

The coastal town of Lyme Regis is central to the plot of *Persuasion*, Jane's last novel which was published posthumously. She was left inspired after visiting Lyme Regis with her family three times between 1803 and 1804, where among other things, she walked along the Cobb and danced in the Assembly Rooms.

© Alamy

WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL

Winchester, Hampshire

Jane was buried at Winchester Cathedral following her death in 1817 but the inscription on her gravestone made no mention of her writing. In 1870, her nephew Edward paid for a brass plaque on the wall next to her grave, mentioning her career as an author. Above this plaque there is also a memorial window to Jane, which was installed in 1900.

© Getty Images

CHATSWORTH HOUSE

Derbyshire

It is still debated to this day whether Chatsworth House was the true inspiration for Pemberley, the fictional country estate of Mr Darcy, in Jane's novel *Pride And Prejudice*. Nonetheless, it remains a popular tourist destination for Austen lovers from around the world and it even appeared in the 2005 film adaption of the book.

novels are read around the world is because every culture has its own version of the 'marriage market'. And that's before we get onto the way that her novels have (falsely, and mainly because of film and TV versions) come to stand for rather a twee, nostalgic, pretty heritage version of England that's entirely unreal but enormously powerful.

What would you say are the biggest misconceptions about Austen and her novels?

People think that they're love stories. And on one level they are. But the reason that they're great works of art – on the level of Shakespeare – is that there are endless depths. For example, there are tiny clues to suggest that all the 'happy endings' might not be so straightforwardly happy as the casual reader might assume.

Is there anything about Austen that you wish more people knew or understood?

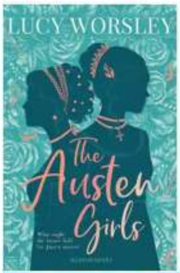
I think that some people were perhaps made to read her before they were ready – perhaps at school – and don't realise how funny, clever and dark she was. The novels repay perseverance.

What inspired you to write your new novel,* The Austen Girls*, exploring her life from the perspective of her two nieces, Anna and Fanny?

As I was researching my biography, I came across Jane's two real-life nieces, to whom she would write letters of bracing advice on their love lives. She watched the girls' adolescence with a mixture of aunt-ish love and writer-ish cruelty, to see what they would do and how their characters would develop. I immediately identified these two, the cousins Fanny and Anna, as the heroines of a story for girls: finding their own way on the marriage market, dealing with the choices that had to be made, discovering the truth about dull old 'Aunt Jane' and finding out that you don't, after all, have to go far from home to have adventures. Some parts of the story will seem ridiculous to readers, such as an incident of Georgian shoplifting, or a mother with 11 babies, but in fact these are real events from the life of Jane Austen and her family.

Lastly, which one of Austen's novels do you consider to be your favourite and why?

My favourite is by no means the most popular: it's *Emma*, a story about a woman who's a bit difficult and who thinks she's a bit better than everyone else. (Of course I'm nothing like that at all and can't see why it appeals to me!) *Emma* also contains Austen's best love interest: Mr Knightley. My own biography of her is dedicated to my husband, and in it I named him as my own Mr Knightley. He asked, as many people would, why I hadn't called him 'Mr Darcy', but, as true Austen-lovers will know, Mr Darcy really is a bit arsey. Mr Knightley's the man for me, and Jane herself said that if she'd ever married, it would have had to have been to someone as good as him. ○



The Austen Girls by Lucy Worsley is out now from Bloomsbury

"The reason her novels are read around the world is because every culture has its own version of the 'marriage market'"

BELOW-LEFT
Austen's significance in Britain was illustrated by her being added to the £10 note in 2017

BELOW-RIGHT
Emma and Mr Knightley are one of Austen's most beloved couples

2x © Getty Images

© Getty Images

Jane. Austen

Which Austen heroine are you?

1. PICK A LOCATION FOR A WEEKEND AWAY

A. Lyme Regis
B. Bath
C. Derbyshire
D. Box Hill

2. WHICH ONE OF THESE WORDS BEST DESCRIBES YOUR PERSONALITY?

A. Loyal
B. Imaginative
C. Witty
D. Confident

3. WHAT IS YOUR FAVOURITE HOBBY?

A. Playing the piano
B. Reading
C. Taking long walks
D. Dancing

4. WHAT LIFE LESSON DO YOU THINK YOU NEED TO LEARN?

A. To trust your own feelings and instincts
B. Understand the difference between fiction and reality
C. To not judge someone on a first impression
D. Interfering in the lives of others can have serious consequences

5. PICK THE QUOTE THAT FITS YOU BEST

A. "My idea of good company… is the company of clever, well-informed people, who have a great deal of conversation."
B. "Oh! I am delighted with the book! I should like to spend my whole life in reading it."
C. "My courage always rises with every attempt to intimidate me."
D. "I always deserve the best treatment because I never put up with any other."

MOSTLY As

YOU ARE ANNE ELLIOT, THE HEROINE OF* PERSUASION*!

Like Anne, you're smart, empathetic and sweet. You don't like to stand out from a crowd, but don't let that stop you from speaking up for yourself.

MOSTLY Bs

YOU ARE CATHERINE MORLAND, THE HEROINE OF* NORTHANGER ABBEY*!

Like Catherine, you have a fun imagination and seek adventure. But you can also be gullible and hurt others with your assumptions.

MOSTLY Cs

YOU ARE ELIZABETH BENNET, THE HEROINE OF* PRIDE AND PREJUDICE*!

Like Elizabeth, you're not afraid to speak up for yourself or loved ones. But remember to stay open-minded when meeting new people.

MOSTLY Ds

YOU ARE EMMA WOODHOUSE, THE HEROINE OF* EMMA*!

Like Emma, you love to help those around you with the best of intentions. However, you can't resist meddling in other people's business from time to time!

Image sources: A. wiki/solitary-elegance.com B. wiki/Pemberley.com C. wiki/tilneysandtrapdoors.com D. wiki/solitary-elegance.com

PARIS' THEATRE OF TERROR

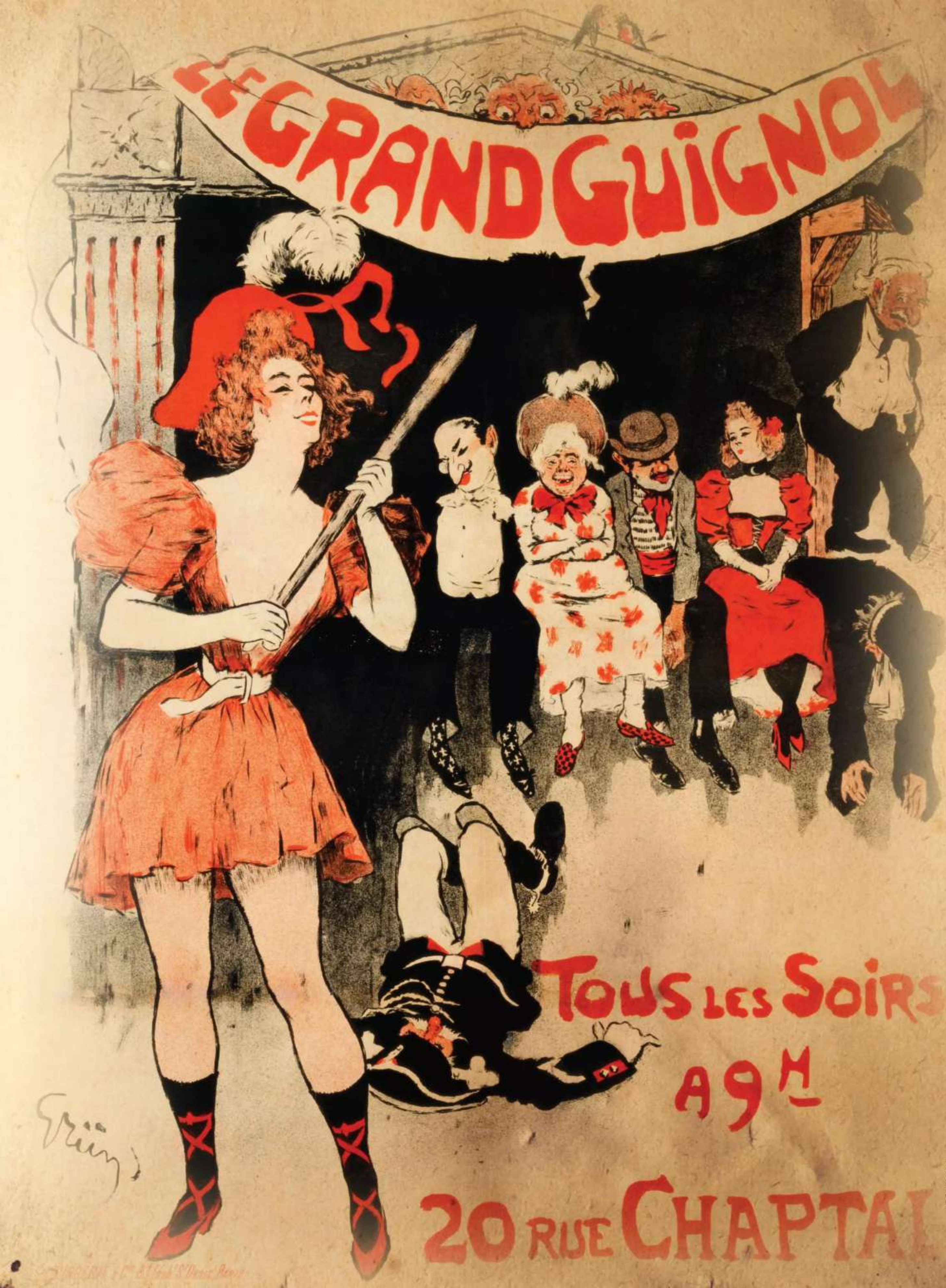
Inside the Parisian theatre that shocked and horrified audiences for over 60 years

Written by Callum McKelvie

Paris. The early 1900s in the Pigalle district, an area known for its many bars and 'adult entertainments', later nicknamed 'Pig Alley' by visiting troops at the end of World War II. As night falls we venture down dark alleys and seedy side streets, making our way nervously to an evening like no other. We find ourselves at a door where devilish gargoyles grin menacingly down at us. Not the result of some perverse sense of humour, in fact the building was once a chapel, though now its stone guardians serve only to increase the nerves of the waiting customers. Taking our seats, we chat excitedly before the curtain is raised and a series of tales containing sexual titillation, shocking violence, madness and mutilation are played out before us. For this is a theatre like no other, this is the Grand Guignol.

From 1897 until its closure in 1962, the Grand Guignol became a legendary part of Parisian culture. Offering its own unique brand of entertainment, this infamous theatre laid the groundwork for much of contemporary horror media. Each night it would present a selection of short plays that were revolutionary in their approach to violence, psychology and darker subject matters. Among those who enjoyed the nocturnal pleasures this house of horrors had to offer were a young Ho Chi Minh (working in Paris as a pastry chef), Anaïs Nin and King Carol of Romania.

The name Grand Guignol translates as 'Big Puppet' and, as Mel Gordon suggests in his book *The Theatre Of Fear And Horror*, it reveals the intention of the plays at their core – to make adults laugh, cry and scream as if they were children. Initially, however, the word was meant to refer to the lead character ▶


LE GRAND GUIGNOL
TOUS LES SOIRS
A 9 H
20 RUE CHAPTAL

© Getty Images

Guignol from a popular puppet show that contained strong political undertones. Horror may have been how the theatre made its name, but it was not how it started under the direction of the Grand Guignol's founder, Oscar Méténier, who had somewhat loftier ambitions. Opening with an adaptation of Guy de Maupassant's *Mademoiselle Fifi*, Méténier focussed on plays of extreme social realism, highlighting working class issues in naturalistic stagings. With its tiny 20ft by 20ft stage, it was the perfect place to depict the horrors of real life. The choice of naming the theatre after a character who was entertaining but satirical was a pointed one and a firm statement of Méténier's intent.

But just four seasons later in 1898 Méténier chose to relinquish control and step down from his position as director. The pressure of keeping the theatre socially relevant night after night was proving a little too much and the novelty wearing a little thin. It was at this point, when the theatre could have simply vanished into obscurity, that perhaps the biggest influence in the Grand Guignol's lifetime took control. More than any other director, it was 32-year-old Max Maurey who shaped the Grand Guignol into the gruesome house of horror that became recognised the world over. Under his reign, the emphasis shifted to plays of gore, shock and scandal. Méténier had received considerable attention for a number of productions that defied the censors and dared to focus on 'less desirable' characters, such as prostitutes and criminals. Maurey took this and ditched the social realism, focussing instead on the sensation.

Maurey was an outsider in the world of the theatre. He was unknown in actors' and directors' circles and had virtually no artistic background to speak of. However, he did possess a talent that was invaluable in these times of heightened theatricality: a shrewd sense of showmanship. Maurey recognised that there was an appetite for material that pushed the boundaries of what was accepted and focussed on terror. And he saw in the Grand Guignol an

> "Maurey recognised there was an appetite for material that pushed the boundaries"

ABOVE Patrons walking to the theatre

Tales of Terror

Five of the most famous and frightening plays that were performed at the Grand Guignol

The Laboratory of Hallucinations

By André de Lorde (1916)

The wife of Dr Gorlitz, a mad surgeon, tries to flee her husband. However, Gorlitz operates on her lover, putting him in a zombie-like state. At the climax, he overpowers the doctor and begins to operate on him.

The Lighthouse Keepers

By Pierre Antier and P Cloquemin (1918)

Two lighthouse keepers, father and son, begin their duty on a small island. However, the son has contracted rabies and soon the father is forced to fight for his life as a vicious storm descends on their remote outpost.

The Man of the Night

By André de Lorde and Leo Marches (1921)

An artist develops a strange obsession with death. He enjoys digging up corpses under the cover of darkness and mutilating them, and this becomes the gruesome secret of his impressively realistic paintings.

The Masks

By Charles Méré (1922)

A young couple attend a masked carnival. However, the girl becomes distraught when her lover doesn't show. Meanwhile, the boy's father is drinking with four masked revellers, but one seems oddly quiet, lying limply in a chair...

The Man Who Killed Death

By René Berton (1928)

A scientist revives the decapitated head of a man guillotined for murder. His attorney, still unsure of the man's innocence, asks the head if it was guilty. The head continuously screams "No!" as the attorney is driven insane.

5x © Getty Images

LEFT Elaborate staging for a sequence involving an acid bath

BELOW André de Lorde, the 'Prince of Terror' and principal playwright for the Grand Guignol

BOTTOM A gory sequence from *A Kiss In The Night*

opportunity to make money – a lot of money. Legend tells that he would measure the success of a play by the number of patrons who fainted during its performance, and he even hired a doctor to treat audience members for whom the shock was 'too much'.

More than anything else, however, it was the plays that drew the crowds, and Maurey's approach to scripts was meticulous in the extreme. He's said to have constantly rewritten scripts and created a standard template for each evening, known as a system of 'hot and cold showers'. This meant alternating a horrific or gory play with a comedy – usually of the bawdy variety. This helped increase the theatre's reputation as not only a house of horror but of loose morals as well.

Many of France's playwrights would write for the Grand Guignol (including Gaston Leroux, author of *The Phantom Of The Opera*, who contributed *The Man Who Saw The Devil* in 1911) but it was André de Lorde who was to have a profound influence on it. Having had a preoccupation with death since childhood, De Lorde often worked on plays with his psychiatrist, Alfred Binet, co-creator of the Binet-Simon IQ test. De Lorde would write over 100 plays for the theatre between 1901 and 1926, leading to some of the most famous and controversial Guignol plays produced. In 1921 his *L'Homme De La Nuit* (The Man Of The Night) told the dark tale of a necrophiliac and appears to have been based on the real crimes of Sgt Bertrand. *The System Of Dr Goudron And Professor Fether* (1903) is an adaptation of an Edgar Allen Poe story about an asylum taken over by the criminally insane. These plays were incredibly daring for the time, breaking taboos and focussing on subject matters that even today would be considered difficult and upsetting. This worked to raise the profile of the Grand Guignol, making celebrities of their cast and crew. Lorde himself became known as 'The Prince Of Terror' and would be eternally associated with the theatre whose style he helped perfect.

After 16 successful years, Maurey retired. He had transformed the theatre into one of the biggest attractions in Paris and pushed numerous boundaries. Needless to say, his successor Camille Choisy had large shoes to fill. Choisy was perhaps initially an odd choice, having primarily worked as an actor. However, he had spent much of his career performing in theatres throughout Paris, developing an in-depth knowledge of stagecraft. Director of the theatre from 1914-1930, Choisy used this experience ▶

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PANDEMICOLLECTIVE

THE TERROR LIVES ON!

Rhea Amos, managing director of Colorado's Pandemic Collective, tells us how they keep the Grand Guignol spirit alive

What is the Pandemic Collective?

We're a non-profit theatre organisation founded in 2014. Our mission statement is to 'infect the masses with horror theatre in the hopes of rousing social change', so we do a lot of socially conscious pieces. We also like to utilise artists outside of the theatre, and have worked with drag queens, live sand artists and musicians.

You performed your first 'A Night Of Grand Guignol' in 2016, what drew you to this material?

We received a book of Grand Guignol as a gift and we poured through it immediately. We discovered that we loved the concept of Grand Guignol and short vignette pieces of stylised horror theatre. Our performance was actually by two local playwrights who wrote original scripts, and because traditionally Grand Guignol can feature music or dance we were also really keen to include this. So we have a musician or band underscore the plays and perform a mini set during the intermission.

You've utilised both original scripts and vintage scripts – how do you go about the script selection process?

We've used a pretty even number of plays devised by local playwrights and then scripts from the Parisian Grand Guignol canon. We receive submissions all year of original scripts by playwrights, which is really incredible. From there we put aside scripts that speak to us and pair them based on common themes or imagery. So we've had presentations based on twisted love, revenge and the ocean. So that's the method of our madness!

The Grand Guignol was known for its gore and shocking violence. Can you tell us about some of the effects you've used in past performances?

So in our last season we performed a classic script called *Chop Chop*. This required a full-sized guillotine, which we rigged with a blade that fell at the pull of a lever. Talk about the air going out of a room! When that blade dropped, it was a completely dazzling and horrifying effect to watch it fall 15ft. We also had an actor cut a piece of prosthetic skin from her arm and we rigged a blood pack underneath it so it dripped down her arm. This was done literally feet away from the audience, so that was one of our big creepy-crawly moments. We've also given audience members rain ponchos and had boxes of blood and dismembered limbs fall on them. They were covered in blood and had to go out and drive home, so we're complete monsters! We've had slit throats, waterfalls of blood and acid attacks, and creating those nightmare-inducing effects is such an exciting part of producing Grand Guignol.

Why do you think the Grand Guignol is still performed all over the world?

To me there's an antiquity about Grand Guignol that you can see in incredible paintings or pieces of art. There's a reverence and a charm, a notion that most of these pieces were conceptualised 100 years ago yet are still relevant and still so shocking. It speaks to a nature in us that I think we all have, a propensity for the adoration of horror media, telling spooky stories around a campfire or going to haunted houses. The fact that people can confront their greatest fears, head on, whether through laughter or terror or something in between. It's such an honour to bring these plays to life and I think that the companies that still produce Grand Guignol have a really great responsibility to do them justice.

IMP. 26 R. PHILIPPE-DE-GIRARD PARIS

2x © Mindy Delmez **Logo:** Kaylee Littleton

RIGHT Excited customers waiting for the show to begin

RIGHT-INSET Max Maurey, the director who turned the theatre into a house of horror

to push the Grand Guignol towards more elaborate staging and special effects. While the text was still integral and core to the Grand Guignol style, suddenly more stylised sets and lighting were being employed. Choisy even supposedly once bought a fully functional operating theatre as the set for a new play. He also rarely edited the text of the plays, usually only doing so following audience response, allowing him to retain the services of playwrights far longer than his predecessor.

The argument had been made that the Grand Guignol might seem tame post-WWI compared to the horrors that had been unleashed upon the world between 1914 and 1918, yet this didn't appear to worry Choisy. Whereas swords, daggers and strangulation had been the order of the day pre-war, Choisy now encouraged his writers to let their imaginations run wild when it came to scenes of death and destruction. During his productions characters were dissolved in acid, electrocuted, blown up and even eaten by Pumas. These effects involved a vast array of complex trickery and audiences delighted in this new angle to the theatre, attempting to 'spot the illusion'. However, these more elaborate methods of murder forced the staging to finally move away from an emphasis on naturalism and realism. It was during this era that the heightened sense of reality which had constantly been threatening to develop in the performances was finally allowed to come to the forefront and the Grand Guignol became a style all of its own.

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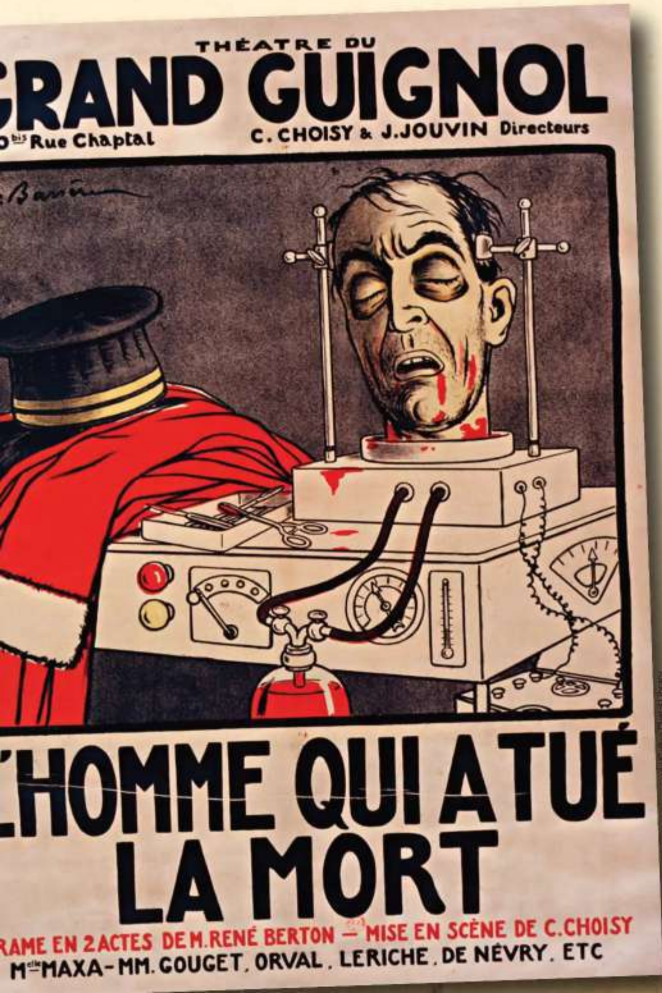
Perhaps his most publicised addition, however, was the hiring of actress Paula Maxa, known simply as Maxa, and nicknamed 'the most assassinated woman in the world'. She became known primarily for her victim roles and was reputedly killed on stage some 10,000 times in at least 60 different ways. Even today, her fame lives on and in 2018 Netflix produced *The Most Assassinated Woman In The World*, a biopic that centred on Maxa's life at the Grand Guignol. The combined talents of Choisy, Maxa and De Lorde led to what many termed the 'Golden Age of Guignol'.

It's at this point that we really should let ourselves get gruesome and grisly. We do hope you're not squeamish! The theatre was known for a heavy emphasis on gore and the effects of the Grand Guignol became legendary among the many 'Guignolers' who attended in droves. So much so that a number of the theatre's 'trade secrets' were patented to keep the illusions a secret. Legend has it that the theatre's last director, Charles Nonon, personally mixed nine different shades of blood every day. This formula was apparently so realistic that it would 'scab' if not kept warm, and audiences could occasionally hear a cry of: "Quick, Edmond! Warm up the blood!" Gloves filled with glue water were used for sequences where hands were chopped off, edible eyeballs were made by a local confectioner, and rubber hoses soaked in blood made excellent intestines.

"Characters were dissolved in acid, electrocuted and blown up"

With all that blood and violence it's no wonder that some patrons found it all a bit too much. However, not everybody reacted in the same way and there are numerous stories about how audiences 'responded' to the gruesome acts played out before them. At the back of the theatre were several private boxes fronted with grills that allowed those inside to see out, but no one to see in. During performances, some patrons took advantage of this newfound privacy to the point that mid-performance actors were known to shout: "Have you finished?" Considering that many seats were found 'stained', one has to pity the cleaning staff.


THÉATRE DU
RAND GUIGNOL
bis Rue Chaptal
C. CHOISY & J.JOUVIN Directeurs
'HOMME QUI A TUÉ
LA MORT
RAME EN 2ACTES DE M.RENÉ BERTON — MISE EN SCÈNE DE C.CHOISY
Mlle MAXA-MM. GOUGET. ORVAL. LERICHE. DE NÉVRY. ETC

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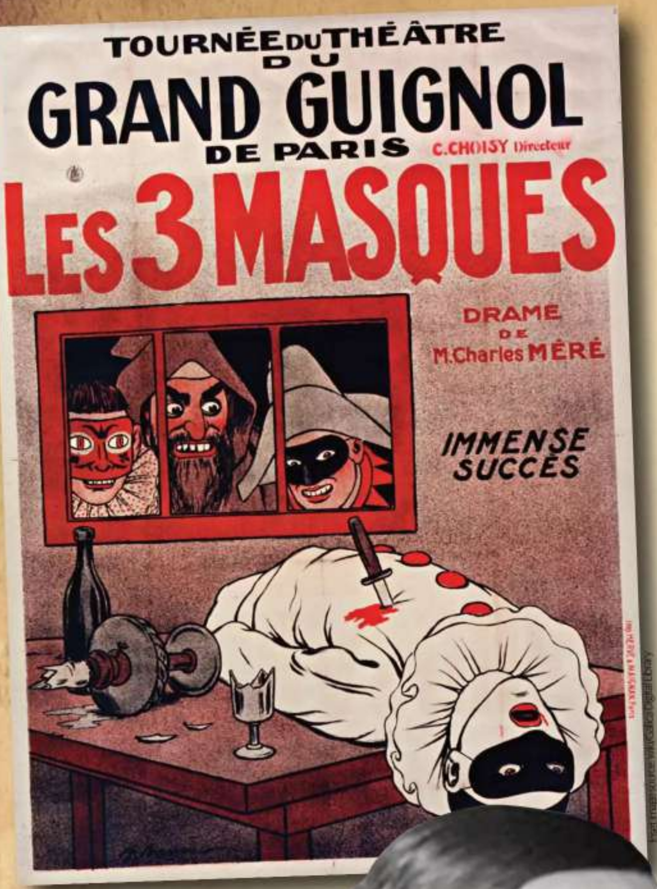


Poster image source: wiki/Gallica Digital Library

Yet, so soon after the theatre's heyday, its downfall began. Much of the blame for this sudden turn of events has been placed on Jack Jouvin, who served as director from 1930 to 1937. Jouvin, who had obtained influence in the theatre through shares, clearly had his own vision for the theatre and regularly butted heads with Choisy. After several unhappy years working together, Choisy left and set up a rival company - though this would not prove to be a success. Jouvin then targeted Maxa and fired her, supposedly as he felt she was stealing too much of the limelight. Jouvin used very few of De Lorde's scripts and shifted the focus away from physical violence, instead crafting more psychological suspense dramas with sexual undertones than plays of extreme horror. A large number of these were written by Jouvin himself, but despite his best efforts it was all to no avail. Audiences began to wane and aside from American troops and students, it received very little attention.

Following Jouvin, it seemed like there might still have been some life left in the theatre. Eva Berkson, Jouvin's successor, was able to coax Maxa back, as well as introduce a seemingly winning formula of bawdy humour and contemporary horror plays. However, as Nazi forces invaded France, Berkson had no choice but to flee to Britain, where she joined the auxiliary RAF. Meanwhile, Choisy returned to the Grand Guignol and kept the theatre running during the Nazi occupation. It remained popular during the war, mainly among the occupying forces. Indeed, Hermann Göring was known to enjoy the shows, despite the theatre's performances being a prime example of so-called 'degenerate art'.

After the war, the theatre continued to put on shows. Choisy passed away shortly after the conflict ended but Berkson, along with her husband, was able to return and recommence management. Despite continuing for another 17 years, most histories of the Guignol in this period depict the theatre as having fallen from grace, limping steadily along but never quite reaching the heights of its earlier glory years. The

NOËL COWARD AND THE BRITISH GRAND GUIGNOL

It wasn't just the French who had all the fun

In 1926 the Grand Guignol came to London, and for a two-year period José Levy's version battled against censors and featured the talents of Sybil Thorndyke and Noël Coward. Coward's satirical one-act comedy, *The Better Half*, focussed on the sexual politics in an unhappy marriage. Despite Coward's towering presence in the British theatre, this long-lost work was forgotten until Richard Hand and Mike Wilson rediscovered it when researching the Grand Guignol in 2007.

Inset image source: wiki/Theatre Magazine Company; Vandamm Studio, photographer

Inset image source: wiki/Gallica Digital Library

US N'AVEZ PAS PEU
ALLEZ VOIR
LA TUEUSE

FAR-LEFT Having fun behind the scenes with actor in gruesome makeup

LEFT Vintage posters put up for sale at the theatre's closure in 1962

BOTTOM Peter Cushing as Baron Frankenstein, in one of the Hammer films inspired by the Grand Guignol

theatre would have several directors in this period, though none seemed able to recapture the earlier magic. Between 1954 and 1958, feminist crime writer Raymonde Machard used a selection of younger contemporary writers in an attempt to 'modernise' a form that had become increasingly old fashioned and dated. Yet as the 'X' certificate began to be exploited in British cinemas and horror films became increasingly violent and graphic, it seemed the writing was on the wall.

In 1962, after terrifying audiences for decades, the theatre would finally close its doors. Musing on its demise, the Grand Guignol's last director Charles Nonon famously declared: "We could never compete with Buchenwald. Before the war, everyone believed that what happened on stage was purely imaginary; now we know that these things - and worse - are possible." Indeed, the case has been made several times that the theatre simply struggled to compete with the horrors of real life and that World War II cast a long shadow over its future. The building itself still exists and is now occupied by the International Visual Theatre, a company devoted to performing plays in sign language.

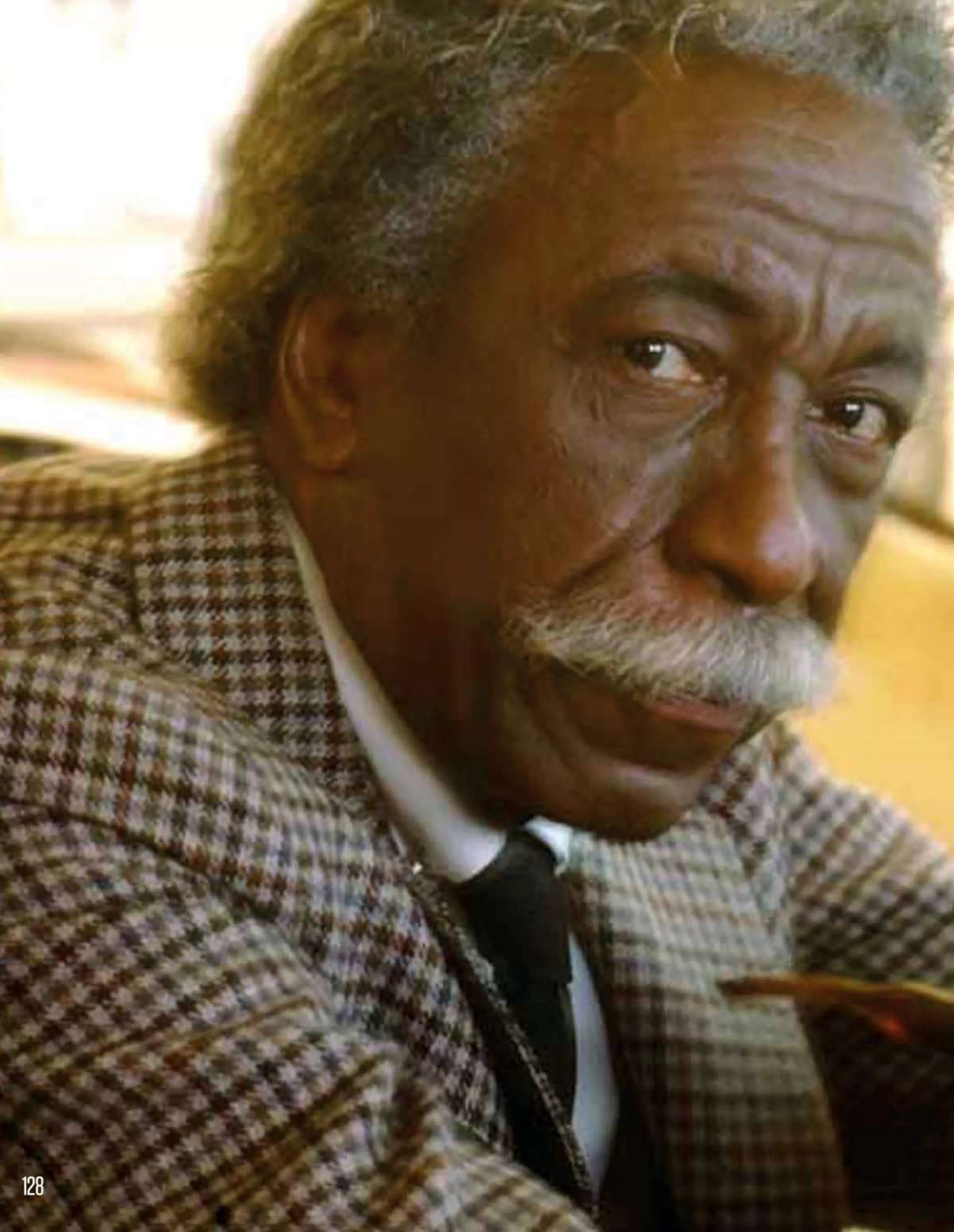
"THE GUIGNOL INFLUENCE CAN BE SEEN IN THE *SAW* MOVIES OF THE EARLY 2000S"

Yet, like all good horror monsters, it appears you just can't kill Grand Guignol. Indeed, while the rise of cinema is often blamed for its closure, horror movies as we know them owe the theatre a huge debt. In the silent-movie era, several Grand Guignol plays were adapted for the screen, such as *The Lighthouse Keepers* (1929) and this continued into the 1930s with *The Obsession* (1933). Later 'talkies' even incorporated the theatre into their plots. The 1935 film *Mad Love* follows Peter Lorre as mad surgeon Dr Gogol who obsesses over the lead actress in a Grand Guignol-esque troupe. *Mad Love* was not alone, either. From 1933's *Mystery Of The Wax Museum*, in which Lionel Atwill's disfigured villain dips his victims in wax, to the sadistic killer in *Murders In The Zoo* (1933), the Guignol style is all over early Hollywood horror.

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, as the Guignol theatre lay dying, Britain's Hammer films were reviving the horror genre with full-colour adaptations of gothic classics - only with added dashings of sex and so called 'Kensington gore'. Its series of Frankenstein films starring Peter Cushing focussed on brain transplants and surgical horrors, while presenting their villainous lead as charming and endearing. *The Revenge Of Frankenstein* (1958) seems to draw particular influence in style and features sequences of guillotining and a man becoming a monster after brain surgery. The Guignol influence can also be seen in the slasher films of the 1980s and the *Saw* movies of the early 2000s.

And yet, while its influence may be felt throughout the horror film genre, the Grand Guignol is, at its heart, pure theatre. And like all theatre, it is ephemeral, never to be seen again - but this only adds to its mystique. The stills, posters and scripts give a tantalizing look into a lost world. But even so, while very little remains of the original Grand Guignol, its name is now used to define a style and genre all of its own. Troupes around the world still perform in 'Grand Guignol' plays, using the scripts of de Lorde and others in an attempt to replicate the feel and frights of the infamous Parisian theatre. It goes to show, just when you think the monster's dead - it rises again.

2x © Getty Images



GORDON PARKS

CIVIL RIGHTS TO SHAFT

How one man defied stereotypes, pushed the boundaries of photography and created the first African-American action hero

Written by Callum McKelvie

We all know the film, we all know the theme. When someone says *Shaft* we think of gritty New York streets, of Richard Roundtree and Isaac Hayes, but what do you know of it's director? About Gordon Parks?

Born in Kansas in 1912, Parks' birth would be the first challenge he had to overcome, as poet Carole Boston Weatherford explains: "His entire life is a study in overcoming the odds and defying stereotypes, beginning with the moment of his birth - he was stillborn. He was not even supposed to live, let alone create this legacy in photography, filmmaking, music, writing and poetry. He was not even supposed to live and yet he became a Renaissance man."

But he would live an awe inspiring life, using his artistic skills to challenge racial prejudice and defy stereotypes. More than anything, he is an example of an individual who constantly overcame the obstacles in his path.

Constantly facing racism and prejudice, he attended a segregated school where people of colour were forbidden to play sports or attend social activities. In his book: *A Choice Of Weapons*, Parks says: "I had to sit in the Peanut Gallery (the Negro section) at the movies. We weren't allowed to drink a soda at the drugstore in town. I was stoned and beaten." The horrific abuse that Parks faced came not only in the form of physical beatings, but also constant psychological attacks. As Boston Weatherford reveals: "His teacher told him when he was a boy that he need not dream big because all the black students were going to end up in either manual labour or domestic work." Despite the constant humiliation and disgusting abuse, Parks himself would proudly state years later: "I always fought back."

His mother died when Parks was 14 and he was left an orphan, an experience ▶

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that understandably affected the teenager deeply. One story describes how he spent his final night in Fort Scott sleeping by her coffin hoping to find closure and face his fear of death. But what now for the young Parks? Peter W Kunhardt Jr, executive director of The Gordon Parks Foundation, describes how Parks "went to go live with his sister in St Paul, Minnesota, and she ended up kicking him out of the house because he had a fight with her husband." Now aged 15, Parks would spend the next ten years working a number of menial jobs and struggling to survive. While he would have brief periods working as a musician, these were interspersed with periods as a busboy, travelling waiter and working the bar at a gentlemen's club. Parks himself would remark years later: "'Of course, I didn't start photography until about 1939 and up until that time I had worked as a waiter on the railway, bartender and road gangs, played semi-professional basketball, semi-professional football, worked in a brick plant - you name it, you know, just about everything."

"WE NEED MOVIES ABOUT THE HISTORY OF OUR PEOPLE, YES, BUT WE NEED HEROIC FANTASIES ABOUT OUR PEOPLE, TOO. WE ALL NEED A LITTLE JAMES BOND"

It was around this time that the young Parks' life would change forever and he would find an art form and passion that would not only bring him fame, but allow him to express the inequality he witnessed throughout America. "One day Parks picked up a magazine and at that moment realised that he wanted to be a photographer," says Kunhardt. "He knew that in order for him to really make a difference in the world he had to have some sort of a creative voice. It was the camera that he found." The camera he found was not state-of-the-art equipment, even at the time. Discovered in a pawn shop, the owner initially wanted $12 for it but after some bartering Parks was able to knock him down to $7.50 - all he had on him. Taking the camera around Seattle, he took innovative and creative shots that showed an imaginative eye. Parks' work evidently impressed and it was at this point that he was finally able to escape the constant stream of menial jobs and poverty he had found himself in. After stints working as a fashion photographer and then in a small portrait business, he received the Julius Rosenwald Fellowship and a position in the photography section of the Farm Security Administration (FSA).

American Gothic, taken in 1942, is perhaps one of the most recognizable of Parks' works and is named after the 1930 Grant Wood painting with which it shares a striking resemblance. The picture depicts Ella Watson, a young black cleaning lady on the staff of the FSA. Standing in front of the American flag and holding her broom and mop, the result was a powerful and evocative image. Parks' boss, Roy Stryker, named the picture an 'indictment of America' and stated that it could single-handedly get every single one of his photographers fired. This was not a warning, however, but a statement of praise. It had been Stryker who had encouraged Parks to draw on his anger at the racism he had found in New York City when creating his photographs. So pleased was Stryker with Parks' work that he encouraged him to continue working with Watson, leading to a further series of images documenting her daily life.

However, despite this some have argued that the images Parks created while working for the FSA show a photographer still learning his craft. Kunhardt explains: "He was younger when he was working for the government, he was less experienced, his portraits that he took were much more formal. And you know, that's where he made *American Gothic*, the picture of Ella Watson holding the broom and the mop. And there was a sense of trying to understand his skillset as an artist and how to compose a picture. But he's also understanding how to make his voice resonate within those pictures, which he achieved when he went to *Life*."

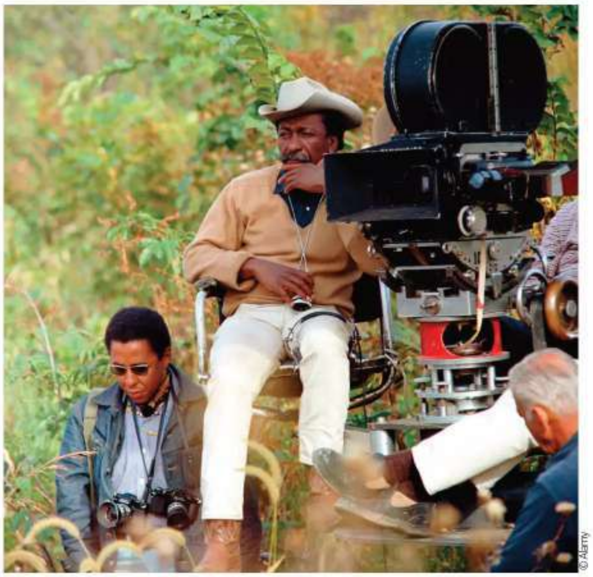
"I first saw Gordon Parks work as a child, reading *Life* magazine," adds Boston Weatherford. "He was the first African-American photographer hired by *Life* and by *Vogue*, so I saw his photography, his photojournalism, before I even knew who he was." Parks' period at both *Vogue* and *Life* are perhaps his most lasting photographic works and it was during this period that he would begin creating photographic essays, providing the supplementary material as well as the photographs. One particularly powerful piece was a 1948 essay detailing the life of a young Harlem gang leader whom Parks bravely followed around. "As an African-American," Kunhardt says, "he had access to places that other photographers didn't have access to. And he gained the trust of so many of his subjects and colleagues at *Life* and that really helped him be elevated to the next level. But at the same time, his pictures were much more than photojournalism. He was able to tell a story using the subjects but also had a way of artistically documenting their lives. That couldn't be done just through a picture assignment."

One interesting moment occurred in 1950 when Parks chose to return to Fort Scott to complete an assignment for *Life*. During this period segregation was still in full force in Fort Scott and Parks documented the lives of the African-American population, highlighting the daily struggles they faced. Several of

▶

ABOVE Gordon Parks in Paris in 1985

BELOW Gordon Parks directing a scene from his acclaimed 1969 film *The Learning Tree*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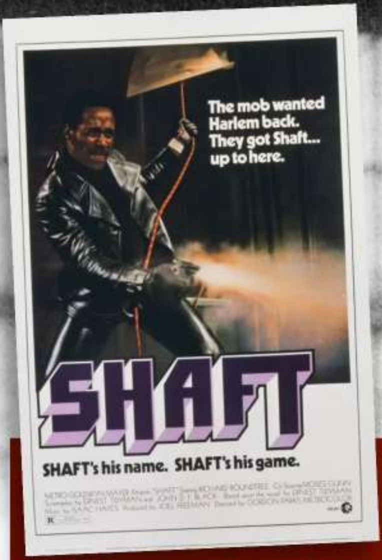

The mob wanted Harlem back. They got Shaft... up to here.
SHAFT
SHAFT's his name. SHAFT's his game.

ISAAC HAYES AND THE MUSIC OF SHAFT

Parks' film features a classic tune

The *Theme From Shaft* is one of the most recognisable pieces of soul and funk music ever recorded. Performed and composed by Isaac Hayes, he had been persuaded to do it after being promised an audition for the movie's eponymous lead character. Despite no such opportunity materialising (or perhaps even existing in the first place), Hayes kept his part of the bargain and recorded the song. Although most of the credit for its enduring popularity should rightly be given to Hayes, Parks had an integral role in the composition. It would be Parks who would describe the character of Shaft to Hayes, leading to some of the song's most famous passages. While being interviewed for a documentary on Parks, Hayes said: "He instructed us how he wanted the feel of the music to go, you know, the driving rhythm and the relentless pursuit that Shaft embodied, and that's what we had to do musically. He communicated it very well to us."

Image source: wiki/National Archives at College Park

Richard Roundtree as John Shaft, getting chased by a helicopter in Gordon Parks' sequel *Shaft's Big Score!* (1972)

this group were his former classmates, which must have made the experience all the more difficult. Despite being completed with Parks' own commentary accompanying the images, *Life* never published the material. It would take until 2015 when Boston's Museum Of Fine Arts exhibited them for the photographs to be seen by a large audience.

This example appears to have been the exception rather than the rule and *Life* would publish a large number of powerful and evocative pieces contributed by Parks during their long working relationship. Many of these, like 1956's *The Restraints: Open And Hidden,* which documented the lives of African-Americans under segregation in the rural South, had a humanitarian purpose. "I would say that his photograph *American Gothic* had a humanitarian mission, as did his photo essay about a boy in one of the poverty-stricken areas of Brazil. That was the *Life* magazine photo essay. So Gordon Parks was not only an artist, but also humanitarian," says Boston Weatherford. The latter refers to his 1961 article *Freedom's Fearful Foe: Poverty,* which told the story of Flavio da Silvia, a young boy living in a favela in Rio de Janeiro.

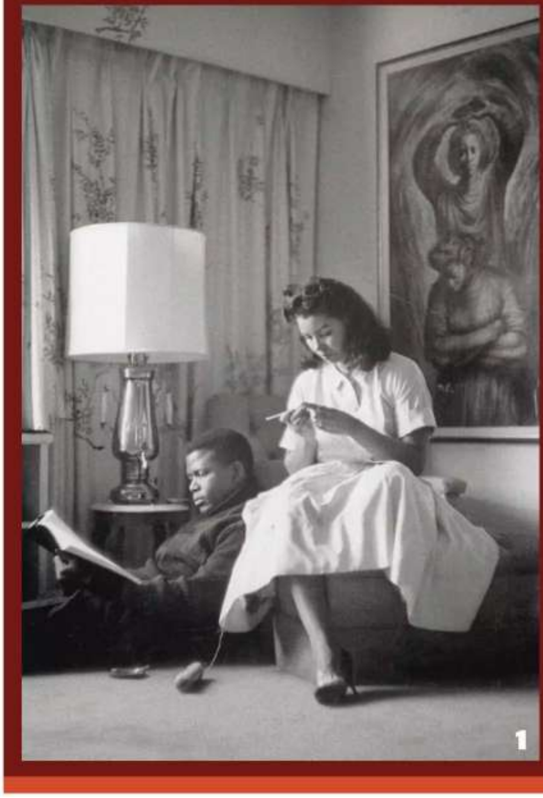
"Parks rescued him and brought him to America," says Kunhardt. "He had treatment for asthma and Parks gave him a home in Denver with a host family and really took this child under his wing. And Flavio, who's now in his 60s, still says that Gordon changed his life. Indeed, last year we had a big exhibition at the Getty Museum in Los Angeles around the Flavio story and he actually came to that opening all these years later."

Parks also found success as a writer and poet. His first two books were on the art of photography, and while fascinating, do not show the literary talent that would later reveal itself when in 1963 Parks released *The Learning Tree*, a semi-autobiographical novel about a young African-American teenager who witnesses a robbery.

It was *The Learning Tree* that in the late 1960s would give Parks an opportunity to expand his skills even further, becoming the first African-American to write and direct a major Hollywood production when he made his book into a film. Shot in Parks' childhood town of Fort Scott, it was a major critical success, and both the movie and novel are still beloved to this day. "I read the book, saw the movie, and that book was very, very powerful," says Boston Weatherford. "It was one of the few books that I read when I was an adolescent that had an African-American as a main character.

THE MANY WORKS OF GORDON PARKS

Five of Parks' timeless photographs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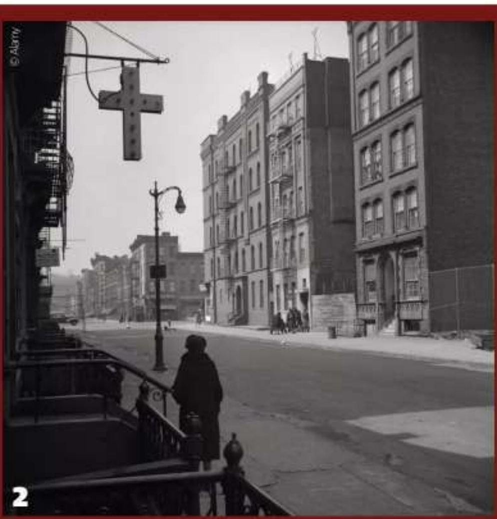
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Always seeking to challenge himself, Parks chose his next film carefully and picked a subject that he hoped would demonstrate his versatility as a filmmaker. As a result he would create a craze that would sweep the United States as well as create an entirely new sub-genre in film.

Shaft, released in 1971, starred Richard Roundtree as the eponymous hero and was based on the novel by Ernest Tidyman. Following the adventures of African-American private detective John Shaft, a smooth, tough-talking action hero, it became noteworthy for its gritty style and soundtrack by Isaac Hayes. Perhaps most important, however, was the film's ability to act as an entertaining piece of genre fiction while also featuring one of the first black action heroes. Director Parks purposefully litters the film with social commentary while still telling a relatively straightforward crime narrative. For example, during a scene where Shaft scours Harlem looking for an informant, a song is featured entitled *Soulsville* that outlines the inequality prevalent in the neighbourhood through lyrics such as: "Any kind of job is hard to find, that means an increase in the welfare line. The crime rate is rising too, but if you are hungry, what would you do?"

"HIS LIFE STORY SHOWS THAT YOU SHOULD NOT SET LIMITS ON YOURSELF OR LET OTHERS SET LIMITS FOR YOU"

In an interview with film critic Roger Ebert during the release of the sequel *Shaft's Big Score!* in 1972, Parks said: "People come up and ask me if we really need this image of Shaft the black 'Superman'. Hell, yes, there's a place for John Shaft. I was overwhelmed by our world premiere on Broadway. Suddenly, I was the perpetrator of a hero. Ghetto kids were coming downtown to see their hero, Shaft, and here was a black man on the

1 Actor Sidney Poitier, known for *To Sir With Love* and *In The Heat Of The Night* (both 1967), relaxing at home. Parks regularly photographed African-American celebrities and well-known civil rights activists.

2 A Harlem street scene from 1943. Parks took many pictures of Harlem in New York City throughout his career.

3 Parks' eye for composition is demonstrated in this image entitled *Parish Priest Walking In A Field Of Wheat With Parishoner* for *Life* magazine from 1955.

4 Parks was also well-known as a fashion photographer, as demonstrated by this piece entitled *Lady Modelling Fur.*

5 Parks with *American Gothic*, his groundbreaking 1942 photograph of Ella Watson.

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4x © Getty Images

screen they didn't have to be ashamed of. Here they had a chance to spend their $3 on something they wanted to see. We need movies about the history of our people, yes, but we need heroic fantasies about our people, too. We all need a little James Bond now and then."

Shaft not only spawned a successful series of five films and a television series (the most recent film was released in 2019) but helped to launch a whole sub-genre of films featuring African-American leads: blaxploitation. Gordon Parks' eldest son, Gordon Parks Jr, helmed perhaps one of the most popular of these films, *Super Fly* (1972), despite sparking controversy for featuring as its lead character a cocaine dealer and pimp. He followed this with three more movies before being tragically killed in a plane crash at the age of 44.

Parks himself would return to direct *Shaft's Big Score!* before distancing himself from the franchise in the years that followed. In 2000, director Jon Singleton would helm a new entry, simply titled *Shaft*. More a 'reboot' than a remake, it starred Samuel L Jackson as the nephew of the original John Shaft, once again played by Richard Roundtree, who shows up in a cameo role. During one sequence set in a bar, Parks also got a small cameo – continuing a tradition he had started with a small role in the 1971 original.

At the same time as his work on *Shaft*, Parks was also serving as the editorial director on *Essence*, a new lifestyle magazine targeted towards African-American women. Immensely successful, the magazine is still in circulation and remains popular. In 1981 Parks added yet another string to his bow when he exhibited a number of his oil paintings at the Alex Rosenberg Gallery in New York. Continuing working right up to his death, he passed away at 93 in 2006 and was buried in Fort Scott.

One organisation that seeks to continue Parks' legacy is The Gordon Parks Foundation, based in New York. It's currently headed by Kunhardt, who has a strong personal connection with Parks. "My grandfather was managing editor of *Life* magazine and he worked with Parks for probably 30 or 40 years," he says. "They became very good friends and that's how I got to know Gordon Parks. Gordon was a very big part of my life and childhood." The foundation was set up shortly after Parks' death, with the initial intention of simply housing and looking after his work, but has since developed an educational mission. "This includes grants to students studying art history, photography and race," says Kunhardt. "We also award grants to artists annually to create a new body of work around the themes of social justice and the arts. We're a small institution that carries on a big legacy."

Boston Weatherford, who has found immense success as a poet and author and has written a book about Parks, describes what she and countless others find so inspiring about him: "He accomplished more in his lifetime than several of us will complete in our combined lifetime," she explains. "He was just extremely prolific and gifted. He proved that you should not set limits or let limits be placed upon you and that you can defy stereotypes. He's shown that because he certainly did that throughout his life." ○

VICTORIAN OCCULT

Lifting the shroud on the 19th century's obsession with death and the afterlife

Written by Callum McKelvie

On 1 April 1848, ten-year-old Catherine Fox and her sister Margaret, 14, received a mysterious visitor at their home in New York - a ghost. The spirit, which went by the name Mr Splitfoot (a popular name for the devil at the time) communicated with the girls through a series of 'rappings' - tapping out messages on a hard surface. It was able to discern their ages and answer questions they put to it. Later, the phantom claimed to be the ghost of peddler Charles B Rosna who, five years earlier, had been murdered and buried in the cellar.

As a result of these strange events, the girls and their supposed powers caught the public's attention. They first visited Rochester and demonstrated their 'rapping' for a paying audience, later making regular appearances in New York City. Having performed for such personalities as historian George Bancroft and novelist James Fenimore Cooper, the girls became a popular entertainment act and news of their otherworldly abilities spread to Great Britain. Of course, no one took any notice that the day the Fox sisters first 'communed' with Mr Splitfoot also happened to be April Fool's Day.

"The Fox sisters created the first craze for spiritualism," says Simone Natale, author of *Supernatural Entertainments: Victorian Spiritualism And The Rise Of Mass Media Culture*. "What I find interesting is that the emergence of spiritualism is considered to begin in the small town of Huddersfield in the state of New York, where they first reported experiencing this phenomena. However, really their demonstration in Rochester should be considered the beginning. This was the first time spiritualism was presented as a sensation to a paying public. The Fox sisters also had managers and people who handled their relationship with the press, so there was an element of show business."

Soon other mediums appeared, demonstrating their abilities in return for money. In the US and Europe, a spiritualism craze began as mesmerism, mediumship and magic fuelled the public imagination, seemingly in contradiction to the simultaneous growth in rational and scientific thought. The Victorian relationship with the supernatural is an interesting one in the supposed age of scientific reasoning, the era of Darwin ▶

Illustration by Joe Cummings
Details © Getty Images

and the century of Chambers. Yet the Victorian obsession with death and any possibility of life afterwards cannot be denied. Due to the Fox sisters' hoax, a bizarre mix of sensationalist sideshowery and serious scientific investigation began and lasted until the end of the century and into the next, in the United States, Britain and most of Europe.

One of the initial starting points for spiritualism's spread into the United Kingdom was a visit by the medium Maria B Hayden. Setting sail with her husband in October of 1852, their arrival was met with some controversy and there were many who disputed their claims. Despite this, the Haydens attracted the attention of numerous upper class personalities, including Charles Young (described as the leading tragedian actor of his time), Sir Charles Isham and royal physician Dr John Ashburner. They publicly expressed their amazement at Maria Hayden's supernatural abilities, with Young in particular struggling to understand how she was aware of facts whose details he had revealed to no one. Charging a guinea for her services, her husband also launched a publication on the topic of mediums and spiritualism entitled *The Spirit World* (that only lasted one issue). Whether sceptics or believers, there was no denying people's interest in Hayden and soon table tapping developed into a popular pastime.

However, not all proved as successful as Hayden. Throughout the century there were scandals involving many popular mediums that exposed their various 'tricks of the trade' and ended their careers. Perhaps one of the most notorious of these swindlers was Daniel Donglas Home, who was involved in several scandals. During a seance in 1855 a particularly embarrassing scene occurred when he presented an apparition to the poet Robert Browning and proclaimed it to be the latter's son who had died in infancy. The apparition was unveiled to be Home's bare foot, made all the more awkward because Browning had had no such child.

"During a seance in 1855 a particularly embarrassing scene occurred when he presented an apparition to the poet Robert Browning and proclaimed it to be the latter's son who had died in infancy"

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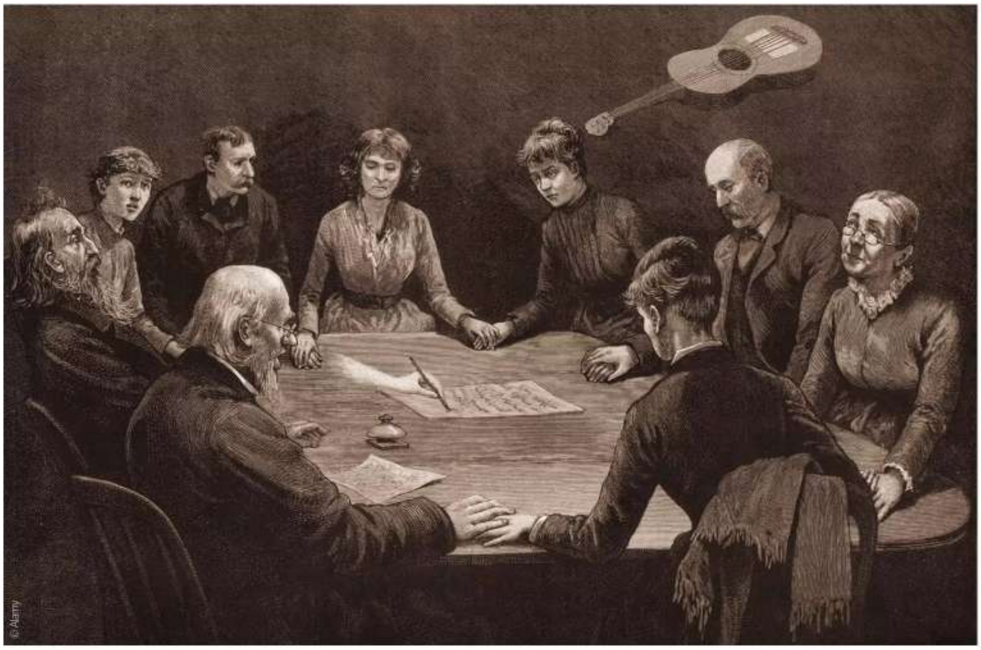
Browning's encounters and subsequent anger with Home would later inspire his poem *Mr Sludge - 'The Medium'*, which opens with the line: "Now don't, Sir! Don't expose me!" Surprisingly this seems to have been a favourite trick of Home's as barrister Frederick Merrifield also claimed to have witnessed the use of the phantom foot, as well as a fake arm attached to Home's own. Frank Herme and Charles Williams were two other nefarious tricksters who came unstuck. In 1875 the duo were caught out when the latter acted the part of a spirit by clothing himself in two yards of 'stiffened muslin, wound round his head and hanging down as far as his thigh'.

One of the most notorious spirit-scandals, however, avoided mediumship entirely and relied on the use of a relatively new piece of technology - the camera. At some point during the 1860s a young American photographer, William Mumler, was developing one of his pictures and was startled to see the visage of his dead cousin in the image. Discovering a knack for photographing spirits of the dead, the enterprising Mumler was able to turn this into a business opportunity and soon had many clients, including Abraham Lincoln's widow Mary Todd Lincoln.

As Mumler's business grew it became increasingly reliant on grieving families

BELOW
An illustration of a seance, c.1887



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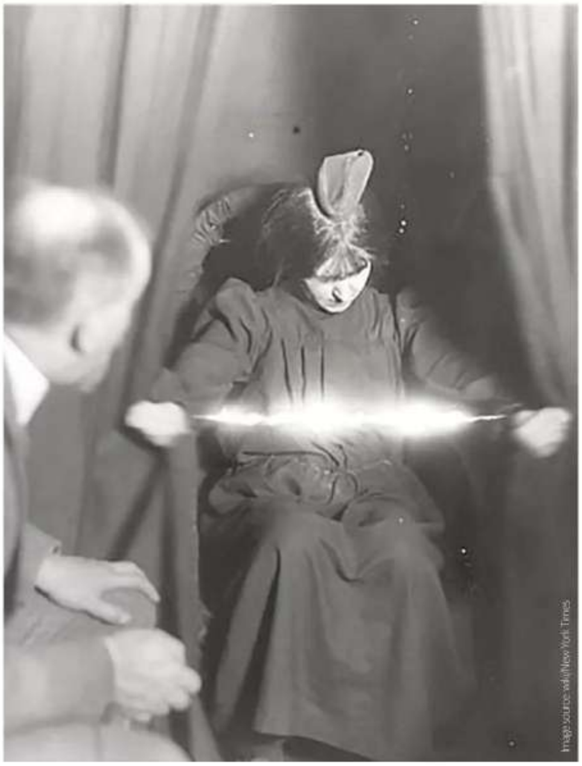


Image source: wiki/New York Times

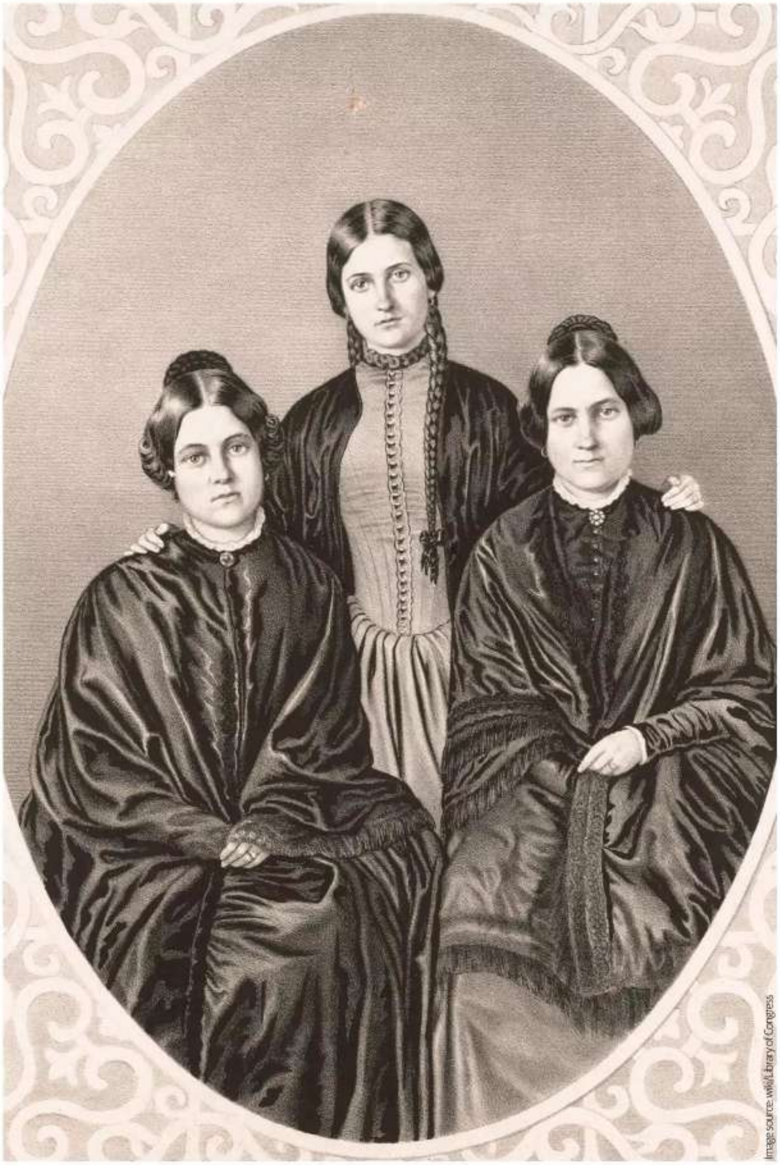


Image source: wiki/Library of Congress

ABOVE-LEFT An 1840s illustration for Charles Dickens' *A Christmas Carol*

ABOVE
A photo of the fraud Eva Carrière during a seance, with light between her hands

RIGHT From left: Margaret, Catherine and Leah Fox

whose loved ones had perished in the Civil War. This brought with it a certain amount of fame and notoriety, as Mumler found himself with a long list of enemies committed to exposing him as a fraud.

One of his most vociferous opponents was PT Barnum, the American entrepreneur and businessman portrayed by Hugh Jackman in 2017's *The Greatest Showman*. Barnum took particular dislike to Mumler's exploits and claimed, among other allegations, that the photographer had broken into homes in order to obtain pre-existing photographs of clients' loved ones. Mumler was eventually placed on trial for fraud and Barnum testified against him. In one particularly damning piece of evidence, Barnum hired Abraham Bogaerdus to replicate Mumler's effect and create a photograph that showed Barnum with the ghost of Abraham Lincoln. This, along with the gradual realisation that the numerous 'spirits' photographed by Mumler were actually still among the living, left his reputation in tatters. Despite being acquitted and resuming his career as a portrait photographer, he never again dabbled in the spirit world.

However, Mumler had not been alone in his use of 'spirit' photography, nor did belief in the possibility die out following his trial. It remained a popular exploit throughout the century and today a variety of examples can be found in museums across the world.

"The relationship between spiritualism and evidence is a very important element," says Natale. "One of the things that happens with spirit photography is that it provides a form of evidence. Around the same time that spirit photographers were producing their works, there was a lot of doubt within the spiritualist movement that these could be trusted. In fact, there were attempts to get testimonies from people who witnessed spirit photographs being developed. However, in my opinion, the key thing was that photography was part of an emerging visual culture that started in the 1860s. At this time there were the first developments of photography as a mass medium. They were printed, circulated and used as a visual curiosity, a form of entertainment, and the same thing happened with spirit photography. It also presented a material object that was visually compelling and prints were sold by spiritualist publishers or presented in lectures alongside the magic lantern."

Elsewhere in the United States, another spiritual renaissance was occurring. These days New Orleans has a reputation as one of the USA's paranormal hot spots and much of this reputation rests on the city's connection to voodoo. 'Louisiana Voodoo' is a form of spiritualism based on the

GHOST STORIES

Five mysterious hauntings and supernatural happenings that obsessed 19th century Britain

The Hammersmith Ghost

Towards the end of 1803, several people claimed to have been attacked by a malevolent spirit in the Hammersmith area of London. Believed to be a suicide victim whose soul could not rest as they hadn't been buried in consecrated ground, two female victims died from fright and a brewer's servant was attacked in a graveyard. As a result local men armed themselves and patrolled the streets, among them one Francis Smith. Smith came across bricklayer Thomas Milwood, who was entirely clad in white for his work. Panicking, Smith shot and killed Milwood. The resultant trial set important legal precedents regarding accountability and mistaken belief.

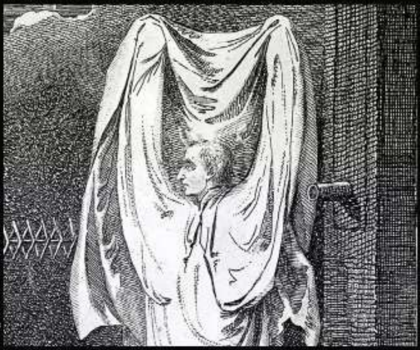


Image source: wiki/Wellcome Collection

The Electric Horror Of Berkeley Square

A notorious hotspot for supernatural happenings during the latter half of the 19th century, many ghosts walked the halls of 50 Berkeley Square in central London. A particular room on the second floor caused more fear than most, however, and tales include a young maid found screaming, dying shortly afterwards, and Lord Thomas Lyttelton shooting at a mysterious creature in the night. In 1879 an issue of *Mayfair Magazine* reported that "the very party walls of the house, when touched, were found saturated with an electric horror".

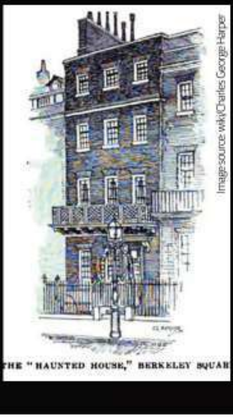

THE "HAUNTED HOUSE," BERKELEY SQUAR

Image source: wiki/Charles George Harper

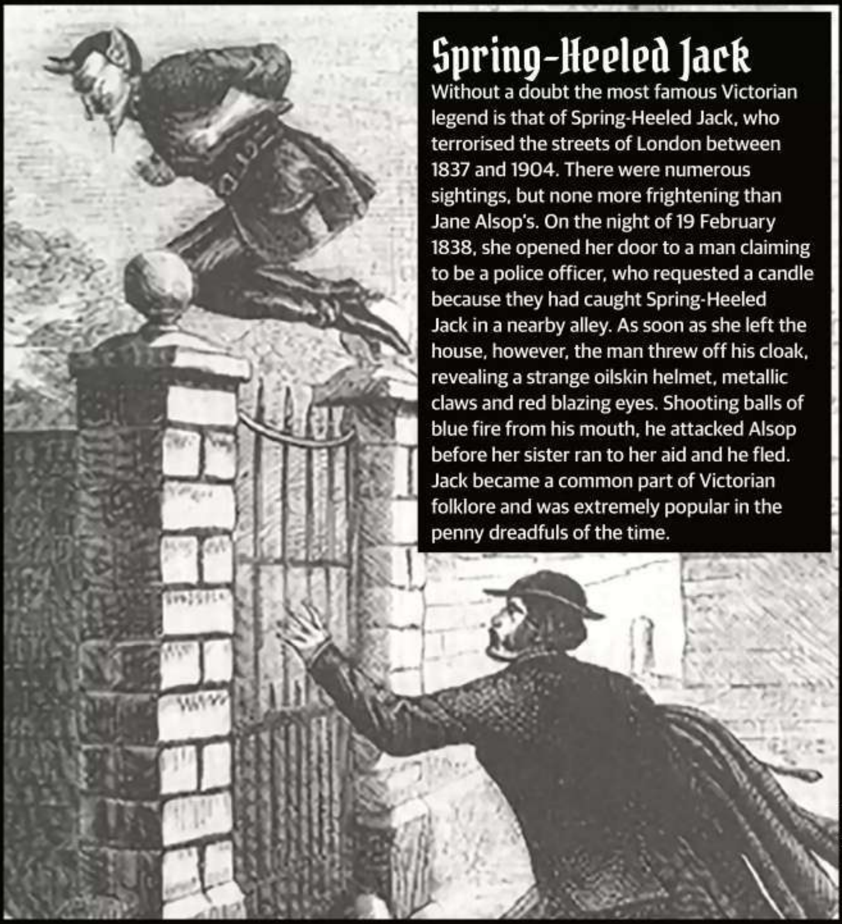


Image source: wiki/Anomaly

Spring-Heeled Jack

Without a doubt the most famous Victorian legend is that of Spring-Heeled Jack, who terrorised the streets of London between 1837 and 1904. There were numerous sightings, but none more frightening than Jane Alsop's. On the night of 19 February 1838, she opened her door to a man claiming to be a police officer, who requested a candle because they had caught Spring-Heeled Jack in a nearby alley. As soon as she left the house, however, the man threw off his cloak, revealing a strange oilskin helmet, metallic claws and red blazing eyes. Shooting balls of blue fire from his mouth, he attacked Alsop before her sister ran to her aid and he fled. Jack became a common part of Victorian folklore and was extremely popular in the penny dreadfuls of the time.

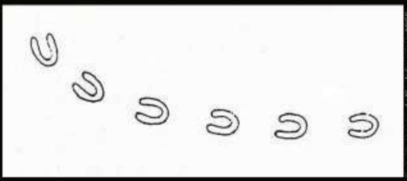


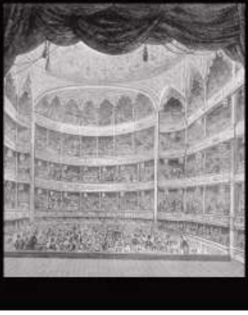
Image source: wiki/English papers 1855

Devil's Footprints

In February of 1855, trails of strange hoof marks appeared overnight in the snow. Covering a distance of 40 to 100 miles, they appeared on the tops of houses, fields, gardens, and in places enclosed by high walls. Local parishioners feared the marks had been left by Old Nick himself and numerous explanations, including an escaped kangaroo, have been touted ever since.

The Grey Man Of The Theatre Royal

The Theatre Royal on Dury Lane in London plays host to many spectres, the most famous being the Grey Man, an 18th century nobleman. In the late 1870s legend has it that workmen uncovered a bricked-up skeleton with a sword protruding from its ribs. Could this have been the Grey Man himself?



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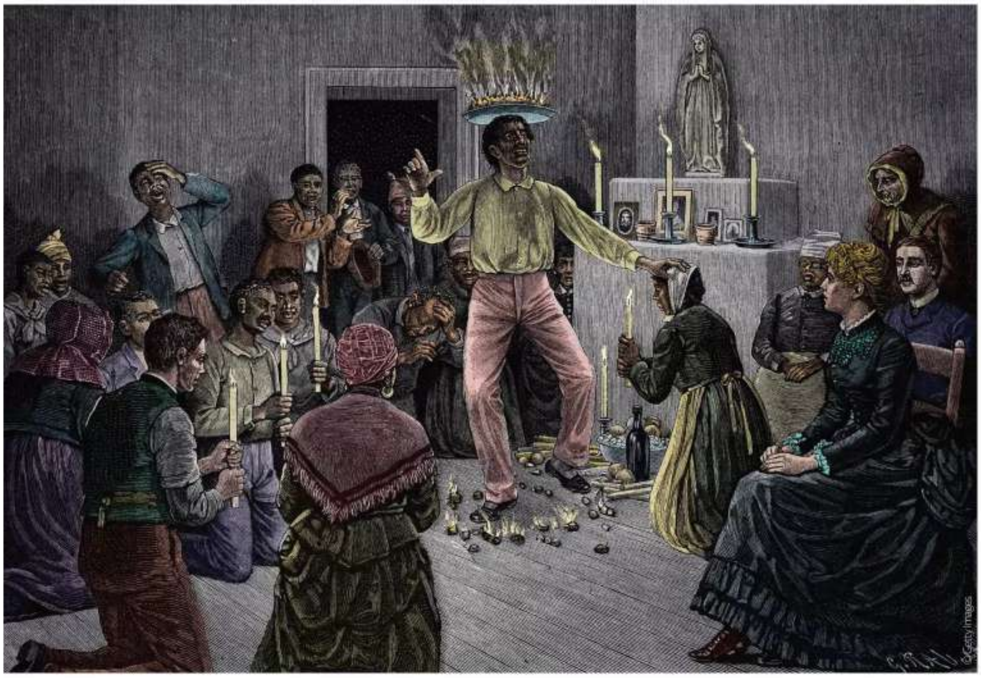

©Getty Images

ABOVE Contemporary illustration of a voodoo ceremony

traditional Haitian religion and began in the mid 1700s, flourishing during the 19th century. In this period, no practitioner was more powerful than Marie Laveau, one of 15 'Voodoo Queens'.

Born around 1801 to the former slave Marguerite Henry D'Arcantel and Charles Laveaux, much of her life is shrouded in mystery. Entering into a relationship with Christophe Glapion, a descendent of an aristocratic French family, they moved into a creole cottage and it was here around 1820 that Laveau began practitioning. She opened a beauty parlour aimed at some of the wealthier families in New Orleans, which not only provided her with the latest gossip but also with a place through which to sell her charms and dolls. In the 1850s her fame as a Voodoo Queen led to several accounts of her activities in local newspapers, with one in particular noting: "Marie and her wenches were continuously disturbing the peace and that of the neighbourhood with their fighting and obscenity and infernal singing and yelling... [in] the hellish observance of the mysterious rites of Voudou... one of the worst forms of African paganism."

In 1874, she held a rite for St John's Eve on the shores of Lake Pontchartrain that attracted some 12,000 followers. Laveau's most integral contribution, however, was in furthering the introduction of elements of Roman Catholicism into traditional voodoo, a practice which had begun during the religion's initial import in the early 18th century.

Back in Great Britain, the spiritualist obsession was in full-swing. The Society For Psychical Research was founded in 1882 with the intention of investigating ("without prejudice or prepossession of any kind") various paranormal phenomena and acted as an extremely fierce proponent of the movement. Several decades earlier in 1862, The Ghost Club had been formed for much the same reason. Originally having its roots in discussions between fellows at Cambridge, it counted Arthur Conan Doyle and Charles Dickens among its members. Often incorrectly assumed to be a result of the death of Conan Doyle's son Kingsley in 1918, Conan Doyle's interest may well have been a lifelong obsession. In January 1880 he attended a lecture entitled *Does Death End All?* and wrote to his mother saying it was "very clever thing indeed," but ultimately claimed that it was, "not convincing to me."

Thirteen years later, in 1893, his interest had developed enough to persuade him to join the Society For Psychical Research. His focus was always primarily towards the spiritual and the dead as opposed to areas such as mesmerism, although he was known to occasionally dabble in that too. However, more often than not his time with the society was taken up by experimenting with 'table tapping' and automatic writing. Conan Doyle's fascination with the spiritual would eventually caused it to surface in his stories. His short story *Playing With Fire*, for example, tells of a group of people struggling with the consequences of a seance. Perhaps the most striking example is one of his later novels, *The Land Of Mist* (1926), featuring the hero of *The Lost World*, the hot-tempered Professor Edward Challenger. The story deals directly with spiritualism, even to the extent of having its sceptical hero converted into a believer at the book's conclusion. Somewhat troublingly, the second section of *The Land Of Mist* suggests that the Central Intelligence (God) punished humanity for laughing at the possibility of an afterlife by instigating the slaughter of World War I.

"Mumler was developing one of his photos and was startled to see the visage of his dead cousin in the image"

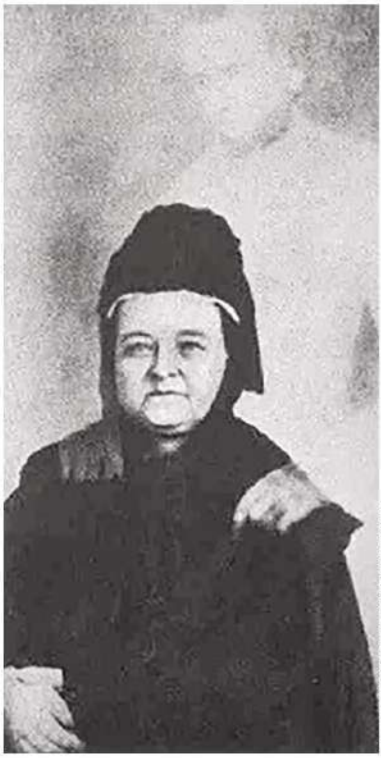

Image source: wiki/Allen County Public Library, Fort Wayne

RIGHT Mary Todd Lincoln in the photo that was said to show the ghost of Abraham Lincoln

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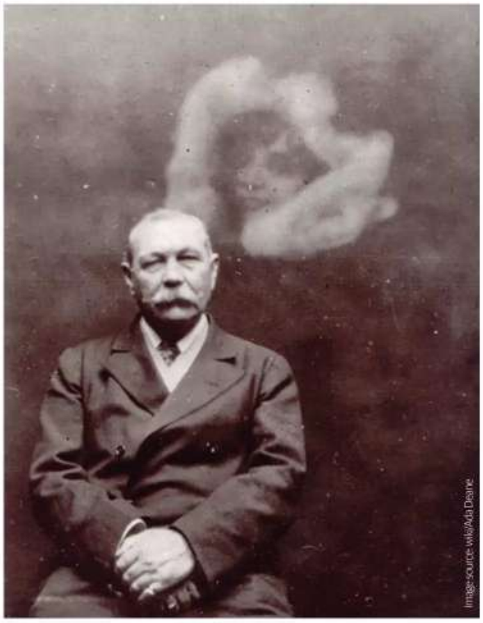


Image source: wiki/Ada Deane

ABOVE-LEFT & RIGHT Author of *Sherlock Holmes* and devoted spiritualist Arthur Conan Doyle

Conan Doyle was by no means the only literary figure of this era to turn to the supernatural as inspiration for his stories. As the public interest in phantoms and spooks grew, it didn't confine itself simply to table tapping and soon seeped into popular culture as well. Penny dreadfuls (cheap, sensationalist novels), theatre productions and gothic melodramas all became obsessed with the spirit world.

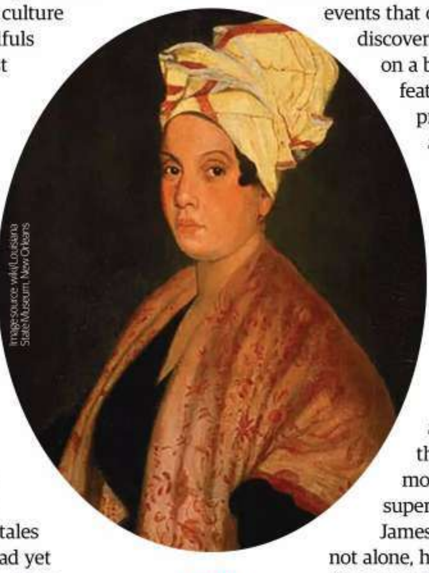


Image source: wiki/Louisiana State Museum, New Orleans

ABOVE
Voodoo Queen Marie Laveau

More than any other medium however, the 19th and early 20th century was the golden age of the ghost story as writers such as MR James and Charles Dickens created some of the most bloodcurdling tales of terror the world had yet seen. Between them, these two authors would bring something new to the ghost story and help cement the form as a Christmas tradition. James had a yuletide habit of reading his tales to his students at Cambridge, while Dickens published *A Christmas Carol*, perhaps the most famous seasonal ghost tale of all. James's stories did not appear in print until 1904, but came to define the burgeoning ghost tale genre.

Arguably his most celebrated work is *Oh, Whistle And I'll Come To You, My Lad*, which tells the story of an academic's stay at an isolated seaside resort and the events that occur when he discovers a strange whistle on a beach. Often featuring as their protagonists fussy academics who find themselves facing off against supernatural forces, the stories can be seen as narrative battles between the growing reliance on scepticism and rational thought against more traditional superstitions.

James and Dickens were not alone, however, and other famous authors attempted to get in on the act. Robert Louis Stevenson's 1884 story *The Body Snatcher* draws on the Burke and Hare murders of 1828, in which the two had turned to homicide in order to procure fresh corpses for Dr Robert Knox and his medical students. Featuring a rather nasty supernatural twist in the tale, the story is a perfect example of the combination of the Victorian love for the grim and grisly with the paranormal. Towards the end of the century, even Oscar Wilde got in on the act with *The Canterville Ghost* (1887), an amusing pastiche in which the ghost is the one who is haunted.

Among numerous key figures within the spiritualist movement, one of the most interesting was newspaper editor WT Stead. To this day, Stead remains controversial for his article series such as *The Maiden Tribute Of Modern Babylon*, which created a state of moral panic and was instrumental in the creation of the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1885. As the articles dealt primarily with child prostitution, Stead used unlawful methods of investigative journalism to procure his information and spent three months in prison as a result. Through his radical journalistic style of involving his personal opinions he was able to influence contemporary society and politics.

In the 1890s Stead developed a strong interest in spiritualism and founded the quarterly journal *Borderland* in 1893. Running until 1897, the magazine was targeted towards the general public as opposed to members of the Society For Psychical Research or other individuals

Image source: wiki/William Hope
Image source: wiki/Édouard Isidore Buguet

with a vested interest in the topic. Perhaps one of his most inventive decisions was to employ one Ada Goodrich Freer as his assistant editor, who wrote primarily under the pseudonym Miss X.

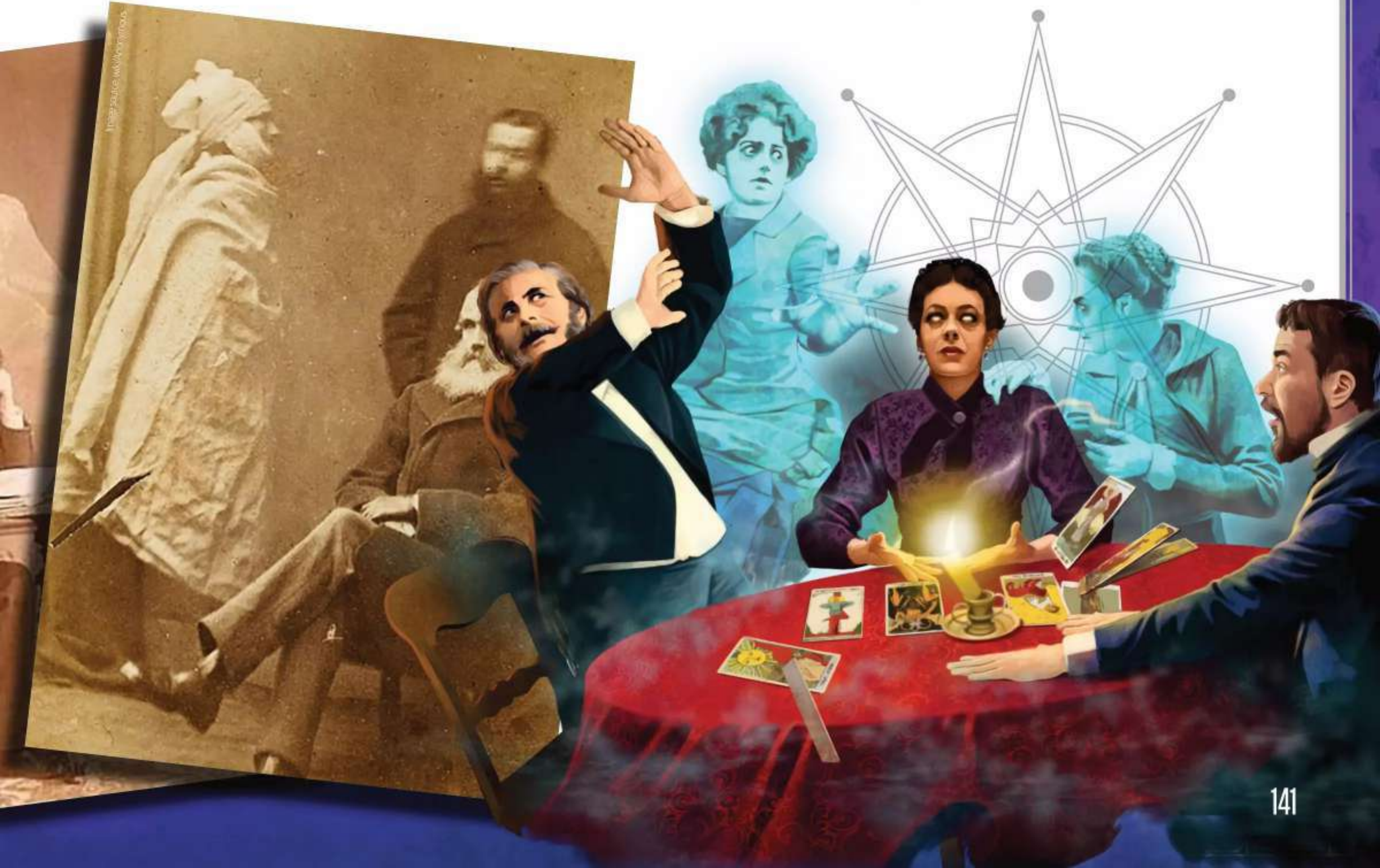
A medium, clairvoyant and psychical researcher, Freer was member of the Society For Psychical Research and became acquainted with John Crichton-Stuart, the Third Marquess of Bute, a devoted spiritualist who organised several investigations into the topic throughout his lifetime. One of the more famous involved Freer in an attempt to discover the causes of reputed hauntings at Ballechin House, a Georgian estate in Perthshire, Scotland, which had been owned by Major Robert Steuart in the mid-19th century. Steuart had returned to the house in the 1850s after serving in the Indian Army, during which time he'd developed a strong belief in reincarnation as well as a somewhat intense admiration for man's canine companions. On several occasions he was reputed to have said that after he died he would return in the form of a dog.

Following Steuart's death, his young nephew inherited Ballechin House and, obviously fearing the major's four-legged return, promptly executed the all dogs on the estate with a rifle. As a result of this the major, his spirit having been denied its furry body, began haunting the halls of Ballechin. Enter Freer, who stayed in the house between February and April of 1897. During her stay she would regularly read aloud from the *Office Of The Dead* (a prayer cycle for long-dead souls) and strange sounds were recorded. Her findings were then printed and published in *The Alleged Haunting of B-- House*, which stated it's intention as "not for the establishment of theories but for the record of fact". However, public interest in this investigation was highly critical and a June 1897 issue of *The Times* newspaper included a particularly harsh assessment of the events. In particular, Freer was targeted and, rather than standing by one of their own, the Society For Psychical Research quickly disowned the clairvoyant and discredited all findings of the investigation. Freer's relationship with the society never fully recovered and she fled first to Jerusalem and then America before fading into obscurity.

> "As the public interest in phantoms and spooks grew, penny dreadfuls, theatre productions and gothic melodramas all became obsessed with the spirit world"

As the decades wore on, interest in the spiritual and supernatural never really went away. It would be easy to assume that the public fascination in spiritualism and the occult faded due to World War I as the mechanised horror of that conflict caused people to doubt their beliefs, but that would not be true. If anything, while popular interest began to wane in the years prior to the war, the conflict caused another boom in interest as people sought to commune with those they had lost. Physicist Oliver Lodge, who had long been a member of The Ghost Club, published *Raymond* in 1916, which told of ▶

BELOW Seances and photos depicting 'spirits' were popular with the Victorians



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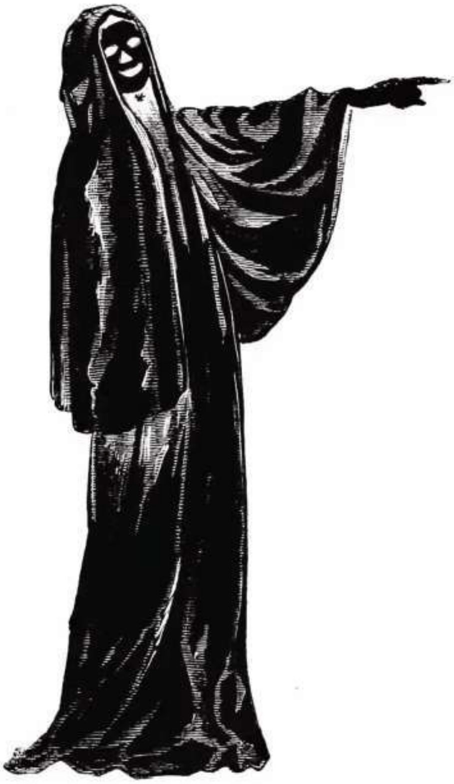
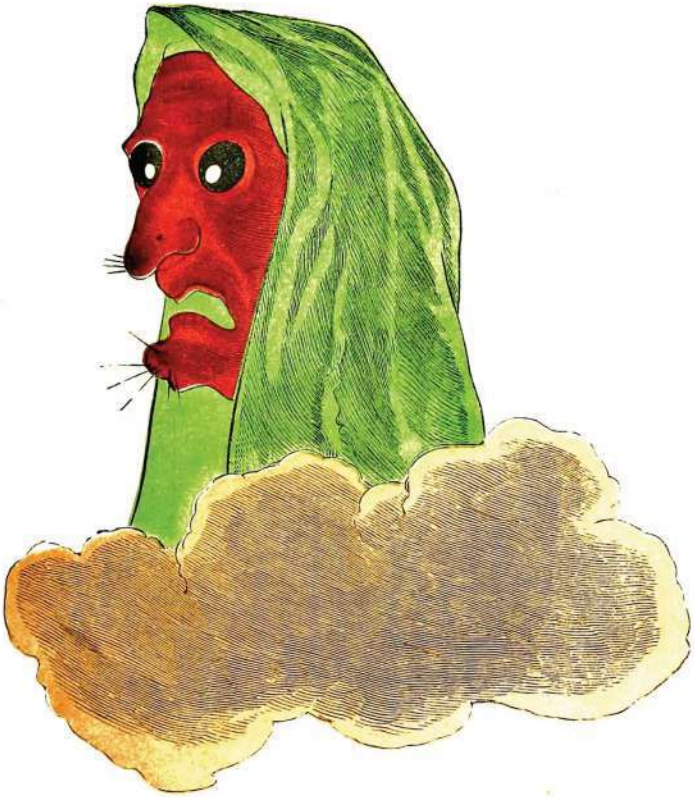


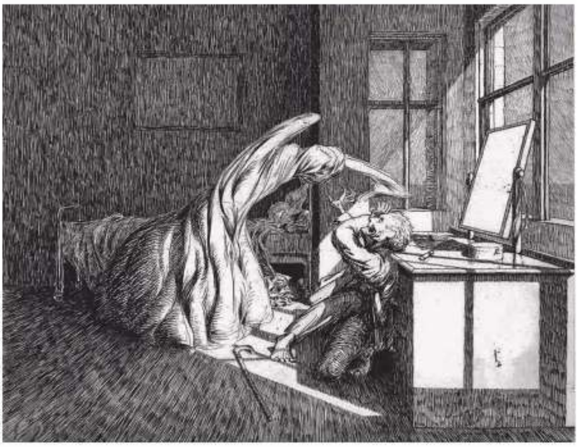


Images source: wiki/ Archive

ABOVE Illustrations from 1864's *Spectropia*, designed to use optical illusion to debunk spiritualism. Stare at the small asterisk in each for 25 seconds, then look at a white wall...

his communication with his son Raymond, who had been killed at Ypres in 1915. The book was incredibly popular and inspired others to attempt to commune with loved ones they'd lost during the war.

Even over successive decades, interest in the spiritual and supernatural never quite went away. In the 1920s and 1930s, interest in occult philosophy overtook more spiritualist leanings and the works of Dennis Wheatley and Aleister Crowley captured the public imagination. Since then, interest in the supernatural has remained strong. The next boom occurred during the 1960s and fed into the 1970s as the Age of Aquarius's darker side saw the rise of Anton LeVay's counterculture group the Church of Satan and an obsession with all things dark and devilish.



BELOW Illustration for MR James's *Oh, Whistle And I'll Come To You, My Lad*

Image source: wiki/James McBryde

"Just like the spirits that so obsessed them, the Victorians' fascination with the spiritual continues to haunt us"

"Spiritualism and the supernatural presents an age far away from ours, the Victorian age," says Natale. "You certainly see a decline in popular spiritualism since the beginning of the 20th century but this doesn't mean there was a decline in belief. Mysticism became more and more important in the 20th century and, of course, we had the New Age movement. So these beliefs don't fade away but they develop. We still have a lot of TV programmes where we can see supernatural events presented for an audience, for example *Most Haunted*, which uses the conventions of a documentary to explore haunted houses but from the perspective that it might be true. There is an underlying fascination with the supernatural and with spirits that was popularised in the 19th century."

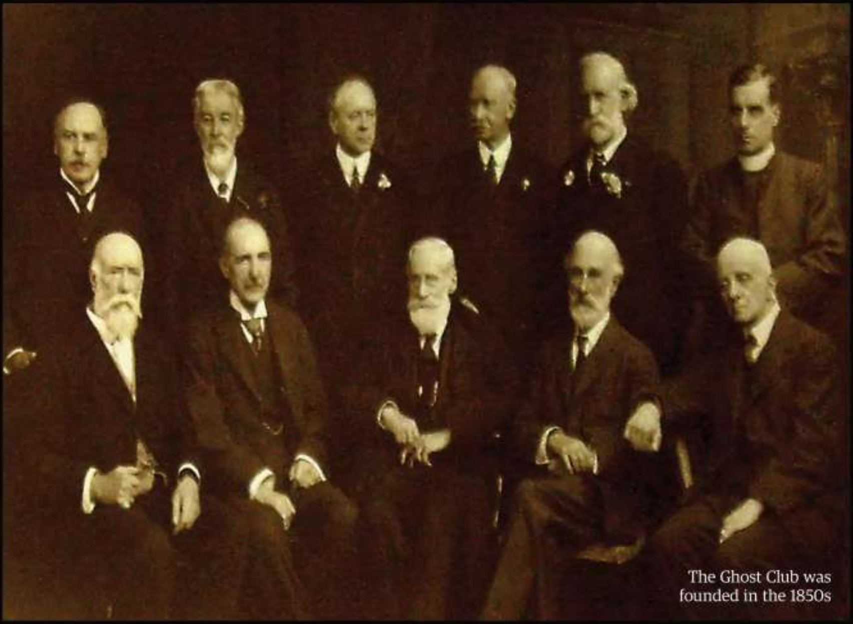
The 19th century and the supernatural are closely linked within the public consciousness. Gothic horror films continue to use the Victorian manor house and the smog-filled streets of London for inspiration. Authors still evoke the atmosphere and style of writers such as MR James, with Susan Hill's 1983 novel *The Woman In Black* being a particularly strong example of the modern Victorian ghost story. And, of course, *A Christmas Carol* remains a popular yuletide fixture, with 2019 seeing a new BBC adaptation. Just like the spirits that so obsessed them, the Victorians' fascination with the spiritual continues to haunt us. ○

PARANORMAL INVESTIGATORS

We talk to Alan Murdie, chairman of Britain's oldest ghost hunting society, The Ghost Club

What exactly is The Ghost Club and what is its mission?

The Ghost Club is essentially a private body of friends and members who are particularly interested in ghosts and the paranormal. It's a place where sceptics and believers can meet on common ground. We don't have any collective opinion, but provide a forum and meeting place where people who are interested in the subject can debate and discuss on a social basis. We also conduct our own investigations and research from time to time, looking into both the scientific and the cultural sides of ghosts and the paranormal more wildly. We primarily investigate accounts in Great Britain but we're also interested in reports of phenomena abroad. I like to think we preserve and celebrate some of our cultural traditions and history of ghosts.


The Ghost Club was founded in the 1850s

Can you tell us a little about the organisation's history?

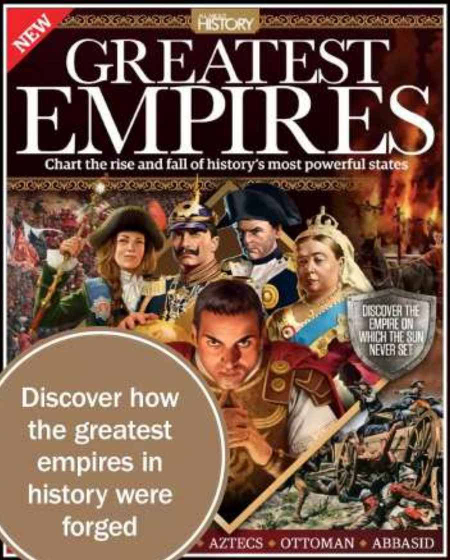
The Ghost Club's origins go back to the 1850s, to a very loose student society, which was formed at Trinity College in Cambridge. It was then launched officially in London in 1862 (with an announcement in *The Times*) and it seems to have carried on in this manner until the early 1870s, when it ceased meeting. In 1882 it was revived by Reverend Stainton Moses, a forgotten 19th century figure who combined life as a Church Of England clergyman with being a remarkable medium. The Ghost Club at this stage was a much smaller and more private body, attracting people such as Sir William Crookes and WB Yeats. They would meet every so often in London to privately discuss the latest in ghosts, but were perhaps more occult-orientated. They researched traditions and referred to each other as Brother Ghost. It continued in this manner until the 1930s, and by this time the club had begun to attract a number of significant younger researchers, such as Harry Price. Price would later become world famous for investigating Borley Rectory, a case that he worked on for 20 years and that people are still arguing about to this day. In 1938 Price then relaunched the club as a kind of society dining circle that met regularly during World War II. After Price's death in 1948, The Ghost Club suspended itself for four years until 1952, when Phillip Pool (a Fleet Street journalist) once again revived the club. That club has carried on, more or less, ever since. During the last 60-odd years The Ghost Club has typically involved investigations into allegedly haunted houses and talks by a wide range of speakers on all kinds of fascinating topics from all points of view.

Reverend Stainton Moses revived The Ghost Club in 1882

2 x Images source: The Ghost Club

What kind of investigations does The Ghost Club undertake?

We've conducted investigations around the country, in numerous settings, although there is one interesting exception: graveyards – we don't get many accounts of haunted graveyards these days. We have, however, looked into reports of phenomena in all kinds of domestic, public and historic buildings. These investigations are quite contrary to the sort of thing that gets televised. My predecessor Tom Perrott, who was chairman for 29 years, stated that the only equipment he took on most cases was a notebook, a pencil and a sympathetic ear. Not everything that people may think of as being paranormal is necessarily so. We had an investigation in the 1990s at the House Of Detention, which is a historic prison-turned-museum in Clerkenwell in central London, we've been into the undercroft of Battle Abbey, and then of course there's been callouts from private dwellings and houses. I've had one or two experiences during investigations, mostly involving noises or object movement that I can't explain. A number of our members do investigate things on their own account as well as with The Ghost Club, but we don't have any ghost-detecting devices. We would have solved problems in science, philosophy and theology if we did!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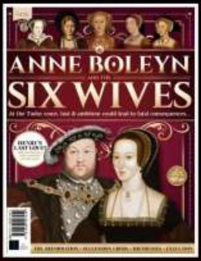
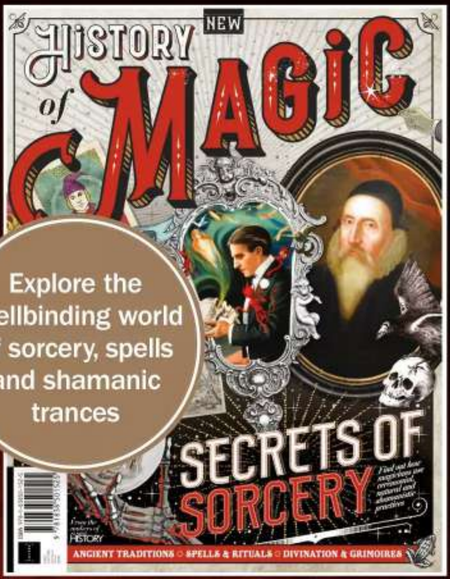

ANNE BOLEYN AND THE SIX WIVES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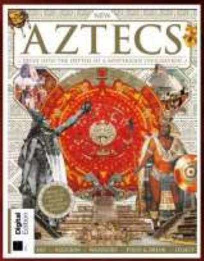

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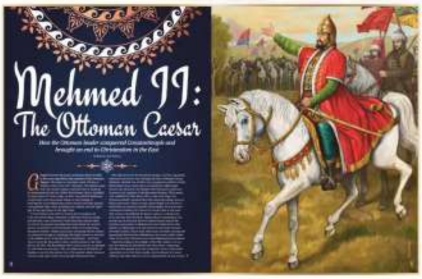

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